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Andrew Maxwell

GENOCIDE IN ANGOLA

The campaign of extermination upon which the fascist Salazar Government has determined in Angola to crush the rebellion of Africans who have had enough of decades of Portuguese brutality and oppression has scarcely any parallel in post-war years. "In the past month the Portuguese have killed more Africans than have been killed in the Union [of South Africa] during the last hundred years," writes the *Observer*, "and the worst is still to come . . ."

Yet, with certain exceptions, the British Press has been silent, or worse, has cold-bloodedly minimised the extent of the slaughter in support of the Portuguese slave-masters (e.g. the *Daily Telegraph*). Public opinion has in consequence not been roused, so that the British Government's connivance at this revolting massacre is not meeting with the protest needed to put a stop to further planned atrocities. It is not that information is lacking: The Baptist Missionary Society has issued trustworthy eye-witness accounts, has appealed for their widespread dissemination, and has, besides, initiated a protest movement that needs only to be given the correct political demands to be, in principle, effective in forcing the British Government to take the measures to bring Salazar and his murderous gang to heel.

The Background

The history of Portuguese rule in Angola (as in Mozambique) is, in general, well-known: the much-vaunted policy of assimilation (Portugal's so-called "civilising mission" in Africa) is mere ideological white washing of a régime of cruel repression, the basis of which is forced—or contract—labour, in a country where live some 4,000,000 Africans and 79,000 whites. The Baptists give the following information: :

Forced labour is illegal in Angola. It is now called "contract labour". It still amounts to the same thing. Africans are conscripted for work. They are issued with a rough drill suit and forced to work from sunrise to sunset. They get little pay and cannot strike or run away. They are frequently ill-treated.

The dreaded "palmatorio" is still used to beat Africans. A missionary said that a chief who was unable to find enough Africans to satisfy the demand for contract labour received three hundred strokes from this instrument. The palmatorio is a rubber stick with a clubbed head. The head has holes so that when a person is caned no air cushion softens the blow. After the chief was beaten on his hands 300 times he was put in prison for three months while his hands healed.

In San Salvador African women are sometimes rounded up at

night time. They are imprisoned. While in prison they are sometimes raped. Next day they are forced to clean the streets and cut the grass verges.

Humiliation and Injustice

A missionary purchased some razor blades for an African. When he got back to the Mission Station, he found that the blades had whisks and soap on them. The shopkeeper explained that he kept his used blades for sale to Africans. This is typical of the kind of treatment frequently meted out to Africans.

Africans are not allowed to move freely. They need special permission to go beyond a certain distance from their village.

Africans receive no proper justice. For instance, in the Damba area, an African teacher was falsely accused of burning down a bridge. The administrator imprisoned him without a trial. While he was in prison nearly all his teeth were knocked out . . .

What is the Truth about the Portuguese "Civilising Mission"?

The Portuguese make proud claims for their policy in Angola. They describe it as one of assimilation. There is no colour bar in Angola. Some Africans have risen to positions of responsibility where they earn more than many Europeans. Race relationships are surprisingly harmonious.

What substance is there in these proud claims? The fact is that less than one per cent of the African population enjoys citizenship. Some put the figure at 3 in 1,000. There is not one Portuguese school in Angola.

Africans are allowed to own land, but when new settlers arrived in Angola, land has been expropriated for the benefit of the new settlers. This has often resulted in Africans having to work as contract labourers on land they previously owned.

To be brief, the following are the main causes of the rebellion as given by the Baptist Missionary Society: forced labour, brutality in the treatment of Africans including torture and flogging, appalling conditions under which Africans have had to live and work particularly when on forced labour, lack of impartial justice [in effect, lack of justice *tout court*], corruption amongst officials, and growth of desire for freedom from colonial rule like other African states.

The Rebellion

On 15th March, the Africans rebelled in an area extending from the Lower Congo in the border region of San Salvador and Quibocolo, to within 100 miles of Luanda, and committed atrocities against Portuguese settlers, their wives and children, which it is estimated caused the death of some thousand whites. While deploring these, the Baptists write, "we are convinced that there has never been greater provocation". They go on:

But this was nothing to what happened in return. Portuguese settlers were armed, formed themselves into vigilante bands and committed terrible acts against innocent Africans.

The first attacked were often the educated ones, who were either shot without trial or summarily imprisoned. Even in Luanda, the capital, for a time, there were nightly raids on the African townships.

Army reinforcements were sent to the area and widespread and indiscriminate bombing of villages followed. In fear many thousands of Africans fled to the bush . . . villages were deserted. Many

thousands made their way into the Lower Congo, where there are now 100,000 refugees. Thousands more are hiding in the bush, ravines and jungle of northern Angola.

An eye-witness at the Institute Médical Evangélique at Kimpese says, "a boy of eight had his buttock shot away. He was rescued after seeing his father and brother shot dead".

A lad of twenty was admitted to the same hospital with a fifteen-inch bayonet wound through his chest. He said he had been told to stand with his hands behind his back. A soldier had bayoneted him from behind and thrown him into the water.

A tape recording just received at B.M.S. Headquarters from a refugee from Quibocolo, who had escaped to the Lower Congo, gives the names of Zombo people who have been shot by the Portuguese although not implicated in the uprising. An earlier letter from San Salvador tells of the many arrests of Africans there after the service on Palm Sunday. It was claimed by the Portuguese that some of these including three deacons were implicated through relatives. One of them is known to have "died in prison" and probably a second has suffered the same fate.

It was this type of arrest which started the first mass exodus into Lower Congo. The second exodus followed the bombing raids and burning of villages.

Further details are given in another pamphlet:

The Portuguese troops are moving into North Angola. They have been told, "you are not going out to fight human beings but savages and wild beasts. We will fire the grass and turn them out like vermin".

A Baptist Missionary has described the grass as being about fifteen feet high. It is now very dry. There are thousands of Africans hiding in the grass. They are doomed to be burnt to death.

Already reconnaissance planes have observed village after village burnt to the ground.

80,000 Africans have fled to the Congo. [The previous figure of 100,000 is the one now accepted as more accurate.—A.M.] Many have severe burns and bullet wounds. They tell how the Portuguese machine-gunned women and children as they fled from Angola.

A Baptist Pastor was forced to watch while Portuguese soldiers shot the Church Members.

These are not the only, nor are they the worst, reports from Angola. They are typical cases of what is happening on a huge scale.

At least 35,000 Africans have so far perished, and the Portuguese threaten to exterminate the whole African race in North Angola.

It is obvious from the refugees who are fleeing from Angola that the majority of the Africans are unarmed and helpless. Some, however, have captured arms and have formed themselves into quite effective fighting units. Some of these "insurgents" are probably being commanded by leaders from the Congo. The insurgents have ambushed some Portuguese troops and inflicted casualties. Reports of these Portuguese casualties are dispatched to the world's press. These reports do not mention the number of Africans who have been massacred

A Missionary just returned from Angola says: "In Luanda I saw the great pile up of arms and vehicles and the thousands of troops brought in from the homeland, shortly to be thrown into the fight to 'annihilate and destroy' the freedom-loving peoples of North Angola. If with the meagre resources at their command over the past few months and in the most unfavourable weather conditions in which they were working, they have managed to slaughter 35,000 Africans, what sort of blood bath can we expect to see breaking over Angola in the next few weeks?"

However, it is unlikely that news of this greater slaughter will reach the world, since the Baptist mission stations are being forcibly closed by the Portuguese.

In the case of each evacuation the missionaries were told they had to leave on the grounds of security and for their own safety. No missionary has so far been molested by the rebel bands and in fact, during an attack on Bemba, rebels by-passed the mission. We can only reluctantly conclude that the Portuguese, who have maintained a strict press censorship, do not wish for any eye witnesses of the army campaign which is being mounted.

Angola and Portuguese Politics

The connection between these events and home affairs in Portugal is not far to seek. After nearly forty years, the Salazar régime has the following to its credit: An average calory intake that is the lowest in Europe and comparable with that of Tunisia; the highest incidence in Europe of tuberculosis and TB mortality rate; infant mortality (at 88 per 1,000) almost twice as high as in 102 other countries and, relative to Japan and Singapore, twice as high in 1960, whereas it was lower than that in those two areas in 1925; real wages (1958 average 34 shillings a week) lower by a third than they were in 1939. As for the political life: despite a ban on all opposition parties, despite repression, despite censorship, opposition has grown, and in the last presidential "election" in 1958 (when parties were allowed to be formed for the period of the 30-day campaign), the government was constrained to admit that, its best endeavours to falsify results notwithstanding, one quarter of all votes were cast for General Delgado—as a result of which no further elections are to be held, and Delgado himself has been forced to seek asylum in South America.

The spectacular seizure of the *Santa Maria* and the arrest in May of liberal opponents testify to the continued unrest in the country. The case of the *Santa Maria* is especially revealing, owing to the rumour that Galvao and those associated with him intended to sail to Angola to raise the standard of revolt there, and from there to try to influence the course of events in Portugal itself.

It is self-evident that Salazar can no more permit independence in Angola for Africans (or Portuguese), than Khrushchev could permit independence in Hungary. His régime is built on metropolitan and colonial oppression, and this he must maintain at all costs. The extermination of whole African tribes in Angola is thus the "logical" consequence of his determination to crush opposition in Portugal itself. The ferocious onslaught in Angola is a lesson and a warning to political opponents in Portugal as well, of the lengths to which Salazar is prepared to go in order to remain in power. It has, however, other aspects for neighbouring territories in Africa, a glance at which will provide the answer to the question of the Baptist Missionary Society: "Why does not Her Majesty's Government demonstrate her condemnation of the action of Dr. Salazar's Government in Angola?"

The British Government and Angola

Apart from Angola and Mozambique, the last important strongholds of white rule in Africa (Algeria excepted) are the neighbouring territories of South Africa and Central Africa, in both of which the white ruling minority is holding down African majorities struggling for independence. A successful rebellion in Angola would have heartened Africans in these adjoining countries (including South-West Africa). A crushing and almost unbelievably savage defeat, conversely, is a fillip for the whites, and a lesson and warning to Africans of what they may expect, if they do not submit.

Such a defeat, such a lesson, such a warning, while naturally not unpleasing to ruling circles in South Africa which apart from anything else for their mines "import" Africans by arrangement with the Portuguese in Mozambique (and thus to interested parties in Britain), is nonetheless especially acceptable to the British Government, now concluding arrangements for perpetuating white rule in the Federation in the face of mounting opposition and unrest.

It is no matter for astonishment consequently that the British Government should have pooh-poohed the eye-witness accounts of the Baptist Missionaries, that when mention was made in the House of Commons of "the mass slaughter of tens of thousands of Africans indiscriminately", Mr. Heath should have replied (to the accompaniment of ministerial cheers), "we all deeply regret the loss of life in Angola, but there is no necessity to use those extravagant metaphors". The Government have now decided to get more "trustworthy" information, about which Charon writes in the *New Statesman* (30 June, 1961):

... Knowledgeable old Lisbon hands are raising eyebrows at Lord Home's announcement that the British Consul-General in Lisbon and one other official are to be sent to Angola to investigate, on the spot, the truth about the atrocities. Anyone who knows Anglo-Portuguese form divines that the suggestion for this mission comes from the Portuguese themselves. Who the other official will be has not yet been announced. My expert friend is tipping the Counsellor Commercial, T. C. Sharman. He was at one time Consul in Luanda and is personally on extremely friendly terms with the Portuguese Establishment.

Meanwhile, the slaughter (which is far from being "extravagantly metaphorical" for the victims) continues, and the British Government, to signalise its support of its Nato ally, Portugal, that staunch fighter in defence of the free world, chose this moment to send it two warships, since, as Macmillan explained, the "contract" had been signed some time before, and he did not "think it would be right to cancel [it]". How true! This was a *business* contract, and as such sacrosanct, unlike the "contracts" entered into concerning Africans in Central Africa which it is perfectly "right" to cancel in favour of more profitable deals with Welensky.

More shameless still was the Government reaction to a demand

by the Labour Party that it stop sending arms to Portugal: The arms were being sent to Portugal to enable it to fulfil its Nato obligations. However, "supplies of equipment to Portuguese overseas territories are in a different category," Macmillan stated in a written reply, "and applications in these cases are for the time being in suspense".

No doubt, until this moment, the Portuguese troops dispatched from Lisbon "picked up" their arms and equipment in Angola! Macmillan's reply is disingenuous: Who does not know that the arms used in Angola come from Portugal, which is still being supplied by Britain? It is no use Macmillan's alleging that "in deciding whether to negotiate a sale or grant a licence for the export of military equipment to Portugal we have to consider her reasonable military requirements as a Nato ally". Who is there to control the use made of these arms, once they have been delivered? Who is there to ensure that the "Nato" arms are not "redirected" to use in Angola? Who is any longer unaware of the fact that France has for years used "Nato" equipment in Algeria? The fact has, at least, not escaped notice in Norway, which has refused to supply Portugal with arms, "Nato" or not. Of course, Norway has no fish of its own to fry in Africa; whereas Britain has, and finds the blaze begun in Angola a welcome help in turning on the heat in Central Africa. That the Labour Party has (as seems from parliamentary reports) remained satisfied with its meaningless gesture, and has made no other demand of the Government, proves how once again its protest is but a hollow pretence, which it abandons once the requirements of etiquette in such matters have been fulfilled.

The fact is that Portugal is economically dependent upon Britain which is still its "best customer". Salazar would be quite unable to continue his campaign of genocide in Angola, were Britain to apply economic sanctions against Portugal. Indeed, it is doubtful that Salazar and his hateful régime could survive their application, a secondary effect than which none could be more welcome to the mass of Portuguese. If that were done, a real blow for freedom would be struck, in contradistinction to the propping up of decrepit fascist régimes which is an essential part of the so-called "defence of the free world" under the aegis of Nato.

It is to be hoped that, as information about Angola becomes more widely known, a tumultuous protest will arise in Britain, which will voice the two demands needed to bring Salazar to his knees, and compel the Government to give effect to them:

1. No arms to Portugal
2. A complete trade embargo, until the war of extermination in Angola has been stopped, and the troops sent there for the purpose have returned to Portugal.

30th June. 1961.

Bruno Baecker

WORLD DANGER OF RADIOACTIVITY

The Development between 1951 and 1958

Herr Bruno Baecker, the author of the following article, died on 20th May, 1959, as the result of a heart attack. The movement against the radioactive poisoning of the world has lost in him a vigilant and consequent fighter.

In atom test explosions, as in volcanic eruptions, enormous dust clouds are flung into the atmosphere where they circle around the earth for decades. Unlike volcanic dust, atomic dust possess the dangerous property of radioactivity. As a result of about 250 atomic tests in the course of the last decade, a precarious situation has been created throughout the world. The radioactive dust particles form a radioactive layer in the atmosphere which encircles the earth like a belt, concentrated particularly, however, over the Northern hemisphere, and from this belt the radioactive rays fall only very gradually. It is estimated that so far only 6-10 per cent of the radioactive fallout has reached the earth's surface and that still many more decades will pass before the last particle of atomic dust has found its way back to the earth.

1. The Radiation of the Air

At the beginning of the atomic testing period in 1951, clouds of atomic dust beyond the range of local fallout were only quite sporadically ascertained, recorded and measured. The first measurements of this kind were conducted by the French Meteorological Institute during the period from November, 1951, to February, 1952. On any given occasion the radiation graph reached its highest point ten days after the explosion of the atom bomb and showed readings as high as ten or twenty times the normal activity. Similar reports from Japan followed closely the French reports of atmospheric radioactivity.

These first calculations of atmospheric radiation were still based on measurements of activity present in atmospheric precipitation and more or less correspond, where the particles of a cloud of atomic dust function as the condensation nuclei in precipitation or are washed down by rain. Two factors, time and cause, give this indirect method only a limited applicability: time in that it is confined to the period

of precipitation; cause in that precipitation, itself not at all radioactive, can be induced by high-lying radioactive clouds, as, for example, when, owing to radiation of the air, ionised air molecules cause condensation to take place. 1956 saw the beginning of a totally new epoch in the recognition and measurement of radiation of the air. In Germany it was Dr. Otto Haxel, Professor at Heidelberg University, who first made use of an exhauster which collected the air and passed it through a filter. The filter collected the particles held suspended in the air and the activity emitted by them was measured by Geiger counter. It is on this principle that all apparatus of all stationary and mobile control units operates completely automatically. Professor Haxel and his colleague Herr Schumann began the examination of the air with apparatus they themselves had constructed on the Koenigstuhl near Heidelberg in 1953. In the second half of 1956, stations set up in the Federal Republic for the control of radioactivity used foils to catch the dust. Dust particles in the air were caught on foils of synthetic materials of about .1 sq. metre in area which had previously been smeared with a neutral adhesive. Once they had become covered with dust, a measurement control of the activity of the dust fallout was made possible. This is a method of testing which is easy to carry out and, moreover, cheap. Very expensive, on the other hand, is an experiment which was first made known in July, 1958, at the Geneva Conference of Atomic Scientists. This was the detection of atmospheric radioactivity by means of electro-magnetic waves. The apparatus used for this was nothing other than a *Geiger counter operated by radar*. Just as the normal radar shows, by means of wave reflection, each object and concentration of matter even when behind barriers through which one cannot see, Geiger radar detects and locates radioactive cloud particles. This apparatus will acquire great significance in the future, particularly in observatories, and in less than ten years people will wonder how it was possible to contrive for so long without it.

*Information about the measurement of radioactivity
of the air*

In Germany a beginning was made in this field by the *Hamburger Abendblatt* in the spring of 1956, in so far as it published daily in its weather forecasting section the radiation level ascertained daily by the Durag/Hamburg. It was not until 1957 that *comparative* measurements of radiation of the air were published, quite sporadically, by European observatories. The relationship to normal level, or so-called non-activity, established then remains until today. 1958 however, formed a contrast to the previous years in that data, more particularly about radioactivity of the air deviating from the normal, appeared more frequently than hitherto in the press and thereby came to the knowledge of the general public. In September, 1956, the then Minister of Atomic Questions explained in his speech to the Berlin Radiologists' Congress: "As a result of the atomic and hydrogen bomb tests in the U.S.A. or U.S.S.R. the impulses have risen

from 800 to 802". On the other hand, in the weather report of the Meteorological Institute of the Free University in Berlin of the 2nd April, 1958, it was stated: "As a result of an east wind, the air over Berlin has become radioactive to a most striking degree in the last few days. In the Berlin area radioactivity has increased sixfold since the 20th March". (Does the Geiger count once again rise only from 800 to 802?) At the beginning of May the Brussels weather bureau registered five times the normal radioactivity of the air, the German Naval Observatory in Hamburg ten times, and the Warsaw Observatory twenty times. And the Stockholm Observatory affirmed: "The radioactivity over Scandinavia amounts to about 25 per cent of the dose which is considered dangerous. The concentration of Strontium 90 is particularly great".

The question arises as to what is the *natural radiation level* of the air in any given unit of measurement. An accurate average amount is difficult to fix precisely, simply because in the period before the atomic tests no one had carried out systematic measurements of radioactivity of the air. In the troposphere these can hardly have failed to be in the neighbourhood of .5 micro-roentgen. After this, the comparative amounts for the Northern European area can be absolutely fixed at 10 mr. after April, 1958, and at 50 mr. after November, 1958.

Consequences of Radiation of the Air

At the beginning of the atomic testing period the people responsible for the tests held the view that the fallout produced by each explosion, because of its radioactive character did indeed entail certain dangers, but by their very nature these were limited to a circumscribed area. Japanese observers very soon demonstrated, however, how false this conception was. Exactly three days after each test at Bikini radioactive fallout was recorded in Japan 2,000 kilometers away. It was then that people learned of the global nature of fallout and with great care divided it into two categories, local and global. Since then the professional atomic scientists have been most busily engaged in fostering the idea of the harmlessness and safety of global fallout. The French Professor Charles-Noel Martin is one of the first scientists to assert publicly an entirely opposite viewpoint. Professor Martin put his recognition of this before the French Academy of Scientists in November, 1954, in his work *L'Heure H a-t-elle sonnée pour le monde?* He was the first to indicate first and foremost the many-sided negative effects of artificially produced radioactivity, among other things the elemental change in the atoms of the nitrogen in the air as a result of contact with the radioactive particles of fallout. Just as through the influence of cosmic rays on the nitrogen radioactive carbon is created in the earth's atmosphere, so, in the course of an atomic explosion, the radioactive emission from the accompanying fission products, because of the, in effect, identical nature of the freed neutrons, produces the same effect in the atmosphere; that is, it, likewise, creates radioactive carbon. Carbon 14 has

a half-life of 5,600 years: it is an exceptionally long-lived isotope. According to Professor Noel Martin the level of Carbon 14 in the atmosphere has been raised, since the beginning of the atomic tests, by 10 to 30 per cent and C.14 figures thenceforth in increased quantity as a constituent of the organic carbohydrates, starch and sugar. The most alert attention must be given to the foregoing, because the reactors, atomic power stations, and plutonium factories of the peaceful atomic industry produce radioactive gases which bring about the same effects, namely changes in the nitrogen of the lower troposphere.

Then Professor James Hotley of the main Greenwich Observatory in Britain published a paper in 1956 which dealt with the extremely low absorptive capacity of oxygen in the event of radioactive emission. Hotley found that the affinity of nitrogen to gases emitted is four times as great as to oxygen. As a result of precise measurement, Professor Hotley and Dr. S. Corner were able to draw the conclusion that the layer of air over London in 1956 had a radioactive percentage at least four times greater than normal. The two English scientists characterised this discovery of radioactivity quite clearly as a lung poison, the inhalation of which must lead to a fall in oxygen in the blood and in consequence to damage of the cells of the body tissues. The privately run installation for the measurement of activity belonging to the meteorologist Dr. Corner was closed two months after it was set up by two officials of the Secret Service on account of "distorted announcements about poisoned air currents". "It is not the office of Greenwich to monitor the air for radioactivity but to forecast the weather" and to take care, one might also add, that longitude 0 running through Greenwich does not change position.

On August, 1958, the German Peace Society (Friedensgesellschaft) succeeded in bringing the American Nobel prize winner, Dr. Linus Pauling, one of the most weighty opponents of atomic armament, as main speaker to a peace conference held in Essen. On this occasion, Pauling revealed that radioactive carbon (C.14) *was two hundred times more dangerous than radioactive strontium (S.90)*. Although Professor Martin had already in 1954 pointed out the extent of the radioactive dangers which were consequent to mankind upon the artificial raising of the level of C.14, S.90 was still considered to be the most dangerous radioactive isotope. In 1958 Pauling compared the relative dangers of the two isotopes when he said: "While S.90 remains more an immediate danger, Carbon 14 threatens mankind about 200 times as strongly during a period of 5,000 to 10,000 years. The C.14 created by the bombs already exploded will cause, in the next three hundred generations, about five million defective children in addition to millions of cases of bone cancer, leukemia and other physical ailments."

Cause

Strontium 90

Radioactive fission product mainly from atomic test explosions

Carbon 14

Ionisation products resulting from the radioactive emission of fission products

<i>Formation</i>	Once at each test	Constant, while permanently existing dust layers continue radiation until year two thousand (assuming a test stoppage from 1959)
<i>Distribution</i>	By global fallout	A global existence as an atom of the carbonic acid molecules present as a component of the air
<i>General character</i>	Unchangeable	Gas forming
<i>Half life</i>	25 years	5,600 years
<i>Manner of precipitation and of settling</i>	Air, fallout, earth and water on the surface of the earth	None
<i>Method of Incorporation</i>	Through mineral and water intake of plants (Root absorption) By animals by means of plant fodder By men through food of vegetable and animal nature	Through the assimilation processes of plants (intake of CO ₂ through the stomata on the undersides of leaves) By animals and men as for S.90
<i>Position taken in the human organism</i>	Bones, bone marrow, glands	In each cell formation.

Meteorological Effects of the radiation of the air

As a result of the emission from radioactive dust particles the surrounding strata of air become ionised; that is, the molecules of the air become electrically charged. These effects are known also through cosmic corpuscular (atomic) rays. They are even optically perceptible, namely when such air molecules, electrically charged by cosmic rays, reach the earth's magnetic field and are ignited. These visible manifestations we call Northern Lights. The alpha and beta rays released by the radioactive dust particles are also corpuscular. Gamma rays on the other hand, like X-rays or roentgen rays, are electro-magnetic and, unlike alpha and beta rays, have a range of hundreds of metres. Their passage through the air causes the ionisation of its molecules. By this means not only is the atmosphere's power of conducting electricity increased and its susceptibility to electrical charging intensified, but it forms a field of electro-magnetic

voltage within range of the rays, which constitutes a significant factor as much for the local as for the more widely effective weather formations; a factor which most strikingly disrupts the traditional method of weather forecasting.

Abnormal changes in the local and global weather positions since 1953 which were the cause of a noticeable number of mistaken forecasts led to the conclusion that the artificially created radiation of the air can no longer be overlooked as a factor in the making of the weather.

2. Radioactive Fallout

A considerable length of time necessarily elapsed before the records of radioactive rainfall registered in Japan in 1951 reached Europe, and yet further time passed before the general public became aware of them. This news from Japan gave to a few men in Europe, such as physicists who were in closer touch with the subject, and who, therefore, had earlier become cognisant of the Japanese information, the stimulus to undertake for themselves examination of the radioactivity of precipitation.

In the first section it has already been stated that the French Meteorological Institute in Paris must be accorded the honour of being the first European observatory to have carried out, as early as November, 1951, to February, 1952, systematic measurements of radioactivity of rain and melted snow. The graph of the radioactivity of the precipitation was found to reach its highest point ten days after the atomic tests on any given occasion. Quantities in the region of ten to twenty times the normal activity were here shown. Not until five years later did other European Observatories appear sporadically upon the scene.

In Germany investigation of radioactivity of the atmosphere remained the province of private initiative until the second half of 1956. These German investigations are closely associated with the names of Dr. Karl Bechert, Professor in Ordinary of the Physical Institute of the University of Mainz, Dr. Walter Gerlach, Director of the Physical Institute of the University of Munich, Dr. Otto Hazel, Nuclear Physicist at the University of Heidelberg, and of the Assistants, Dr. Walter Herbst, of the Radiological Institute of the University of Freiburg, Dr. Albert Sittkus, of the Physical Institute of the University of Freiburg.

Already in 1954 Dr. Sittkus carried out measurements of radioactivity of the rainwater in Freiburg and in the Schauinsland ten kilometres away. Dr. Sittkus published the measurements in the paper *Die Naturwissenschaften*. He bade people take heed of the results of the atomic tests: the radioactivity of the precipitation showed in a few days a noticeable increase. A cubic metre of rainwater contained about one million times as much atomic dust as, a year earlier, Professor Hazel of Heidelberg had discovered in a cubic metre of air.

After April, 1955, Professor Gerlach regularly recorded all pre-

precipitation which was collected on the roof of the University at Munich. By this means it was discovered that all the precipitation which fell over Munich in the months of April, May, June and December in 1955 was radioactive. Finally it was established that some falls of rain were from three to thirty times above the tolerance level to which people can safely be exposed for any length of time.

Professor Bechert was interviewed by the *Bildzeitung* of Hamburg after the catastrophically bad weather of West and Central Germany which began on the 10th July, 1956, and lasted for several days. In this interview Professor Bechert stated that during the period from the middle of March to the end of June, 1956, at least twenty-five falls of rain had been radioactive over West Germany and then said further:

A thousandth part of the radioactive dose which, if inhaled, would begin to be dangerous to the human organism, would suffice, if present in the precipitation, to poison vegetation, meadow and game. This precipitation exhibits a substantially higher radioactive concentration than the air. The opposite opinion held by my colleague Heisenberg is simply scientifically untenable.

For a correct appreciation of the few men in Germany who recognised the world danger at the right time, who followed their chosen path untiringly and who investigated the dangers, it must be said that in Germany in 1956 much trouble was associated with the carrying out of measurements of radioactivity, the assessment of the biological results and their publication.

Method of Measurement: A given volume of a substance, for example, a litre of rain water, after standing for 24-72 hours to let the natural radiation fade away, is removed by evaporation. The particles washed down through the atmosphere by the rain remain behind (Aerosol) and the radioactive rays given off by them are measured with a Geiger counter.

3. The Radiation of the Earth's Surface

The Soil

Dr. Walter Herbst, Assistant in the Radiological Institute at the University of Freiburg, was the first in Germany to recognise the artificial increase of natural radiation through radioactive aerosol. In 1951, when he was Assistant to the Agricultural Institute in Freiburg, he went with his Geiger counter through the different high regions of the Black Forest. On 16th October, 1951, Dr. Herbst was able, for the first time, to discover by means of his instrument, the number of impulses in excess of the natural of dew-sprinkled grass. His observations, which were published in a paper in a scientific journal, were greeted by everyone with scepticism. Undismayed by this, Dr. Herbst continued his measurements, and, in addition, extended them to include milk, a product of that pasture.

In the summer of 1956, Dr. Herbst sent the measurements of radioactivity that he had obtained to Professor Bechert in Mainz. The evaluation of these measurements provided Dr. Bechert with matter

for a paper in which he asked the Federal Government the following questions: How severely is the drinking water poisoned by radioactive fallout? How great is the danger of milk's being contaminated? What will the Government do if the danger is palpable? Professor Bechert pointed out that it has recently been "officially suggested" to the scientists who undertake the measurement of radioactivity that they should not publicise the measurements they have made.

Of the position with regard to the radiation of the earth, Professor Bechert said in the spring of 1957 in *Das Gewissen*, the Munich magazine:

The contamination of the earth by Strontium 90 is taking on alarming proportions. According to American measurements on the 1st of January, 1956, in Rhein/Main, 1.2/100 microcuries of Strontium 90 were present in every kilogram of calcium. Even if there were to be a general ban on the testing of atomic weapons, the contamination of the earth would still rise at first until about 1970 when it would be about six times as high, 7/100 microcuries of Strontium 90 to one kilogram of calcium. These facts hold good for soil with normal chalk content. In soil poor in chalk the figure would be about 40 times higher.

The United States Atomic Energy Commission assessed the deposit of Strontium 90 in Central Europe on the 1st of January, 1958, as being 7.3 millicuries to each square kilometre.

Radioactivity of water on the earth's surface

Measurements of the radioactivity of surface waters were first carried out in the Pacific Ocean in the immediate neighbourhood of the testing area on Bikini Atoll. About 50 per cent of the total radioactive fallout after the explosion of a nuclear weapon falls in the immediate vicinity. This fallout, which continues for about eight hours after the explosion, is designated local fallout to differentiate it from the other kind, which consists of the finest of dust particles which remain in the atmosphere for months and years and are distributed, by means of global currents, mainly in the Northern hemisphere. If the test sites are islands like Bikini, Namu, Eniwetok and the Christmas Islands, the greatest part of the local fallout falls into the sea. In order that shipping should not be endangered, a prohibited area of some hundred kilometres in all directions, is proclaimed round the testing place. One immediate and acute danger, namely, that of radioactive rays, can thus be avoided; but one direct danger is, however, not excluded, because fallout which is absorbed by the sea water in the area is carried by currents to the waters lying outside the prohibited zone. It was because of this that in 1955, Japanese fishermen, several hundred kilometres distant from Bikini, had to destroy their catch, because it was found to be contaminated by radioactivity. In the same year, in Japan, the same thing happened to 80,000 tons of sea fish. Since these calamitous and dangerous losses the Japanese Government has initiated an intensive and continued control of the radioactivity of the Pacific waters. In 1956 the direction of the currents emanating from the Bikini area was established by means of dropping bottles into the sea in order to determine areas in the Pacific in which it was guaranteed possible to fish without loss.

A standing service of several control ships was set up to observe radioactivity in the Pacific waters. By this means it was possible for the Japanese Naval Bureau to be able to give in 1958 extremely informative figures for the measurement of radioactivity in the area of the Pacific. It was established, therefore, with the help of the bottles just mentioned, that water which had become radioactive as a result of the Bikini tests was carried in a north-westerly direction and took a whole year to reach the south coast of Nippon. The radioactivity of this sea water is here, at times, just as strong as in the testing area itself. The radioactive waters of the Pacific have spread out to cover a large area between Hawaii, the Philippines and Japan. In this area of the Pacific the radioactivity of the water is about ten times as high as in the Atlantic Ocean. According to exhaustive tests carried out by Japanese scientists there is no perceptible decrease in the radioactivity of the water.

River Water

When, over the Oslo radio, Albert Schweitzer made his first appeal to the world about the atomic tests, it was for a large circle of people the first intimation that there were now waters on our earth which were radioactive. This speech of Schweitzer's referred to the Columbia River in North America into which the Hanford atomic plant expels its radioactive waste water. Schweitzer referred to the universally known biological concentration of radioactivity which I shall mention again later.

Then in 1958, a European control authority reported on a European situation which fundamentally, however, had no connection with the outflow of radioactive waste water from atomic plants: That is the report of May, 1958, of the Swiss Radiation Observation Service. The researches of the control station were concerned with measurements of the radioactivity of the waters of the River Aare which flows into the Rhine above Waldshut. In the first quarter of 1958 the radiation level of the Aare was raised temporarily from zero to fifty times as much. At the same time, the control bureau stated that the rise in radioactivity of the river water was not due to the atomic reactor in Wuerenlingen in the border canton of Aargau, but a result of the atomic tests in different parts of the world.

Water tanks and drinking water

It has already been said that the washing down of radioactive dust particles from the atmosphere by means of precipitation leads to a cumulative concentration of radiating aerosol in the resulting matter collected. At its entry into the region of the earth, however, up to 50 per cent is absorbed by the soil and thus precluded from continuing on its course. This is not the case when fallout is trapped in cisterns and the water is used for drinking water and for watering cattle, as it is in many parts of the Bavarian and Swiss Alps. In all these districts, as a result of using this water in the cisterns, water of

the same radioactive strength as the precipitated matter finds its way into the biological water economy. Year by year, from 1956 onward, increasing radioactive content was found in the water.

At the beginning of August, 1957, the radioactivity of the drinking water of the city of Munich, for the first time exceeded the internationally established toleration level, according to information given by the Bavarian Central Organisation for the monitoring of radioactivity. Professor Gerlach of Munich showed that the level reached was twelve times the tolerance level.

The physicist, Dr. Erich Wosahlo of Erlangen confirmed this statement so far as Erlangen was concerned in a report to the Union of Bavarian Gas and Waterworks. In the surface waters of a fish pond which belonged to the Waterworks of Erlangen he discovered radioactivity far exceeding that naturally present.

In September, 1958, the government of Lower Saxony felt itself obliged to pass the drinking water of the 350,000 inhabitants of the districts of Aurich, Stade and Oldenburg through anti-radioactive filters to strain off the radioactive trace elements in the reservoirs and so remove the radioactivity from the drinking water.

4. Radiation of Vegetation

In February, 1955, by Lake Tanganyika, over an area which by European standards of measurement is fairly extensive—that is about 100 x 150 kilometres (15,000 sq. km.)—a more or less catastrophic incident occurred: overnight all grasses, leaves, shrubs, bushes and trees shrivelled up. As, until the present time, no other cause has been discoverable by science, it can only be that in this area there was a descent of radioactive dust. Since then no similar event of this magnitude and intensity and so far from the atomic testing ground has been recorded. In June, 1956, after radioactive precipitation over Munich, burn marks were noticed in nurseries on rhubarb, tomatoes and lilac leaves.

In Japan, the acceptedly "classic" country for radioactive rainfall, people became aware of the radioactivity emanating from vegetables and fruit very soon after the first atomic test in the Pacific (1951). In Germany, in 1954, after the discovery of radioactive rain and the activity of the earth, Dr. Herbst and Dr. Sittkus, of the Radiological Institute of the University of Freiburg, began to carry out experiments on the meadow grasses, animal fodder and vegetables in the different high areas of the Black Forest. After the heavy rainfall of July and August, 1956, the year of the atomic tests, it was shown that in the low lying plains of the Upper Rhine the radioactivity of the grazing pastures exceeded by many times the intensity which is rated as dangerous for men over a period of time. In the meadow grasses at altitudes of up to 1,250 metres, the radioactivity measured was as much as ten times higher than in the vegetation in the valleys. In the plants grown for fodder and in vegetables the radioactivity was also in parts above normal.

The radioactive rays emitted by the vegetation is caused by the

absorption of radioactive trace elements, particularly of Strontium 90 and Carbon 14, into the plant organism, as a result of which it itself becomes damaged. W. v. Haller published in October, 1957, in the Munich magazine *Das Gewissen* an appeal of the Society "Soil and Health" (Lienen, Krs. Tecklenburg) about "monstrous changes in the plant world". In this gardeners, farmers, natural scientists and, in particular, seed growers were called upon to join together to observe the mutations of varieties and breeding stock and repeated appearances of deformity. W. v. Haller writes:

Different observations have been recorded about unusual mutations of plants, and of abnormalities of a hitherto unknown sort, *which have appeared since 1956*. Lupin spikes, for example, branch out at their head; in another case they were similar in shape to a glove on the hand but with turned-out thumbs. On maize plants, cobs appeared three times the normal size with only a few half-stunted grains and partly with twisted, overgrown covering leaves.

Is this evidence of damage following radioactive radiation? W. v. Haller is correct in asking this. The following must be said in connection with it: The alteration in the reproductive cells of the plant, when no change in the previously established habit is observable, strongly rouses the suspicion of radioactive damage. On the one hand it is known that plants, on the principle of self-preservation, seek to carry on normal blossoming and fruiting in spite of all damaging influences; on the other hand it is also known that internal radiation causes damage in the most important place of all, the genes. I was able, in 1956, to observe "malformations of a hitherto unknown variety" in the wild and uncultivated plants also. My observations included bog and marsh plants in the Berlin nature reserves of Muggelberge and Muggelheim (Lake Krumme): The flower bud of the sheathed and of the narrow-leaved cotton grass (*Eriophorum vaginatum* L. and *E. polustachyum* L.) did not open, and did not form the white woolly tufts which have given this species of the Cyperace family its name and which so charmingly brighten and enliven our marshland with their soft white woolly heads. The flower spikes seemed to be shrivelled up. One should or could characterize this occurrence as sexual "radiation" atrophy.

On the marshy ground outside the reserves one could see on the meadow elecampane stunted buds, and stem leaves shrivelled and rolled up at the edges, but not discoloured.

It is a well-known fact that from stagnant water (ponds, lakes having no outflow) as well as from damp low ground and depressions, from bog and marsh as well as from artificial ponds, the radioactive rain which they have collected emits stronger radioactive rays than does the radioactive rain fallen upon the surrounding land where the nature of the soil is normal. Peasants in the Bavarian Alps notice that cows and wild animals avoid such hollows and depressions and that, in addition, no birds fly over them. A particularly revealing insight into the damage from rays to vegetation is furnished by plants growing in chalk. Unfortunately for us in Berlin, since the early summer of 1952 an interplanetary journey is more possible than a journey by steamer to the chalk mountains of Rudersdorf.

The assessment of radioactivity in plant organisms presented the same problem as did the assessment in the air, rain and the earth's surfaces, namely, differentiating between the artificial and the natural levels of activity. Nevertheless it was possible as a result of exhaustive activity on the part of the members of the Radiological Institute of Freiburg University to arrive at an evaluation of the value even as far back as 1943. Those, however, of the year 1950 must also be judged to give sufficient evidence. Obviously it is no longer possible to compare only the produce actually consumed by man with this, but yet more the by-products. Dr. Walter Herbst, of the Radiological Institute of the University of Freiburg, placed at my disposal measurements made by him. I select from the table the following information:

<i>Material</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Place of Origin</i>	<i>Beta Activity in Ash</i>	<i>Measured</i>	<i>Increase Per cent of Activity</i>
Rye straw without ears	1950	Rheinduerk- heim	490	April, 1957	13
Rye straw without ears	1956	"	554	"	
Rye ears and straw	1950	"	190	"	
Rye ears and straw	1956	"	328	"	72.6
Rye ears alone	1950	"	157	"	80.2
Rye ears alone	1956	"	283	"	

5. Radiation and Radioactive Damage to Animals

Radioactive trace elements from global fallout, which find entry into vegetation as a result of the intake of water during growth, become in turn, owing to the natural organic cycle, absorbed into the biological economy of animal life. This begins with radioactive grasses and plants as cattle fodder in our dairy farming and issues forth as an end-product for the consumption of man. Here, however, we shall deal only with the radiation damage to animals which became recognised as such during the course of the year. In this context Albert Schweitzer's statement must once more be brought forward. This became, as it were, part of history, as the biological interrelation of Schweitzer which assesses the progressive proportionate accumulation of radioactive trace elements. Confirmation of this is furnished by the radioactivity of the water of the Columbia river, caused by the release of radioactive waste water from the Hanford

atomic factory. The radioactivity of the river water, by itself not very significant, presents the following cumulative values:

in relation to the water and the river plankton	1:2,000
and the stock ducks fed by this	1:40,000
that of the fish	1:150,000
swallows living on the water insects	1:500,000
in the yolks of eggs of the water fowl	1:1,000,000

Actual damage to animals

What real damage could be detected which can be traced objectively to the artificial raising of radioactivity in the air, earth, water and vegetation? What mutations, what genetic damage was discovered? In the autumn of 1957, newspapers of the whole world carried the news of deformed and misshapen frogs which were uncovered in a trench in the city district of Amsterdam. As this was an instance of a purely local discovery, the cause of the deformity can only be the radioactive waste water of the Amsterdam Nuclear Research Institute. The expedition of the Japanese control ship, the *Shinkotsu Maru*, furnished independent scientific corroboration in the Bikini area at the end of 1957. Rainfall of dangerous radioactivity was measured as far as 1,000 kilometres distant from Bikini. The expedition also established the existence of dry wind currents, which carried extremely fine, hardly perceptible dust, which showed an even higher radioactivity than the rainfall. The crew sought shelter under paper sails smeared with bird lime and these were spread out over the upper deck of the ship. At a distance of 200 kilometres from Bikini, however, the most unbelievably misshapen fish were taken aboard: fish with divided bodies, fish with deformed fins, fish with several heads. Each catch contained such malformed and warped creatures. Roughly 50 per cent of all the fish showed signs of radioactive damage. In many cases it was difficult to assign the monstrously deformed creatures to their normal species. The mussel shells in the mudbanks of the Bikini Islands were also of abnormal shapes.

German observation of a retrogressive development in German fauna occurred almost exclusively in the entomological field. (The signs of reduced fertility in the domestic goose which were recorded in the spring of 1958 from the Upper Pfalz were an exception.) In 1956, in Preising, Southern Bavaria, the beekeeper, Herr Kraml, who had formerly been for a long time director of the state experimental bee farm in Weihestephan, made a very disturbing discovery. After atomic tests his bees habitually exhibited an over-excited mood which developed into unnatural modes of behaviour. When their own queens returned to the hive from outgoing flights the bees refused them readmittance. When the queens tried to find safety in other hives, they were then stung to death.

In the spring of 1958, Max Dingler, Professor of Zoology at Munich, published the results of three years' observations of butterflies. There is an extraordinary decline in the number of caterpillars.

Even in the wildest undergrowth of stinging nettles one can search completely in vain for the hairy caterpillars of the Peacock butterfly and Tiger moth. These butterflies, hitherto familiar to every child are becoming rarer year by year. As no one is able to trace any epidemic in the insect world, Professor Dingler concludes that the dying out of the butterflies could be caused by the saturation of the atmosphere with radioactive dust. There is also the strong possibility that the artificial augmenting of the radioactivity of the earth's surface and of the vegetation acts as a sterilising factor on the reproductive organs of the insects. As the insects are agents for the pollination of plants (entomological pollination) this gives rise, in its turn, to a falling off in development in the plant world.

The observations of the beekeeper, Herr Kraml, and of Professor Dingler, lead to the discovery of an extraordinary characteristic existing only in the entomological section of our fauna. Therefore it cannot be, as Herr Kraml thinks, "that the bees do not accept any creature that is poisoned with radioactivity". The possibility of the radioactive poisoning of the worker bees is immeasurably greater—as they are in contact with the outside world—than that of the queen, who only occasionally flies abroad. Radioactive poisoning, if Herr Kraml is right, would lead to the loss of the entire bee population. The cause of the bees behaving in a manner contrary to their instincts is rather an intense sensibility of their sense perceptions, which bees, butterflies and other insects possess, to react to radioactive rays and to be aware of them; a faculty which is entirely lacking to man. The compass of these rays readily available to insects is more than a radius of 20,000 metres! This means that insects can absorb the sort of ray emitted by a radioactive cloud at a height of twenty kilometres.

From observation of insects the conclusion can be drawn that *the sensitivity towards radioactive rays and mortality as a result of them are proportionate to the general sensitivity of the creature concerned*. Certain insects have at their disposal a particular kind of perception which we do not possess and in connection with whose functions we are unable to carry out any exact experiments and these must be considered as heralds of danger for us; and it is urgent that investigation should concern itself, as a task of primary importance, with experiments about the reaction of insects to radioactive rays.

Bacteria and viruses which are classified as belonging to the borderland between plant and animal life form the field of research of Dr. Schmidt, the cell therapist of Voerden. His research furnishes us with an insight into the sequence of mutation following an artificially-raised radioactivity in organisms with a very rapid replacement rate. In September, 1957, an epidemic occurred in Germany of a hitherto unknown type of 'flu. Referring to the place in which it first appeared, people named this 'flu "Asian" 'flu, until Dr. Schmidt discovered that the variation of this new 'flu from the one until then familiar was a result of mutation in the virus caused by radioactive poisoning of the atmosphere. As a result, Dr. Schmidt named this sort of 'flu *Atomic 'Flu*, and gave the following reason for it: As a

result of the radioactive poisoning of the atmosphere, new 'flu viruses have arisen through mutation in the old, and these are considerably more dangerous to the human body as this has not yet had opportunity to set up sufficient antibodies to combat the mutated viruses. This interpretation found confirmation in the summer of 1958 by the Russian bacteriologist, Professor Andrei Sacharow. Sacharow concluded from his research that increased radioactivity of the atmosphere altered the structure of viruses until then known to be harmless; their nature then became harmful and occasioned worldwide epidemics. It is logical that, as a result of radioactive rays, *damage known to be the result of mutation should first manifest itself in animal forms with the swiftest rate of multiplication.*

In conclusion in this section, the "calcium collectors" in the animal world will be dealt with: tortoises, crabs, snakes and mussels. So far, only the report of the Japanese Bikini expedition of 1957/1958 is available and this confined itself to the malformation of the shells of sea mussels. Among all animals with coverings of calcium, shells or carapaces; the concentration of Strontium 90 would need to be established. The same is true for the vertebrates bearing antlers and horns. In 1957, two scientists of Glasgow University discovered by accident strong radioactive rays emanating from the antlers of a stag. An X-ray film could be lit for 82 days with a fragment of the horn one millimetre in thickness. The yearly growth can be ascertained from antlers, as from the annual rings of trees, and from this knowledge, and the strontium content of each segment, it is possible to tell as accurately as to the week, when radioactive fallout occurred in a particular region. With the help of radioactive antlers, it is hoped to obtain scientific data for the making of an atlas of radioactive fallout.

6. Radioactivity of Foodstuffs

Eighty thousand tons of sea-fish, the result of catches by Japanese deep sea fisheries, had to be destroyed in 1955 in Japan on account of radioactive contamination. For the same reason, in the summer of 1956, the Japanese government had to warn the people of one province to take the most extreme care in the consumption of vegetables and fruit. Owing to incessant radioactive rainfall, the strawberries in Kobe and the goldfish nurseries of the Province of Nara showed strong radioactivity.

At the same time in Germany Dr. Walter Herbst of the Radiological Institute of Freiburg University, gave to Professor Karl Bechert in Mainz the results of experiments he had conducted on the radioactivity of meadowgrasses, animal fodder and vegetables, cereals and milk. The publication of this by Professor Bechert disrupted with the force of a bomb the peaceful atomic sleep of the republic. The then Atomic Minister, F. J. Strauss, with the alertness of understanding and agility peculiar to him, was ready with a riposte: He knew nothing of any of it! The Director of the Radiological Institute, Professor Langendorff, should have informed him about it

before. Dr. Walter Herbst had, as it happened, chosen to present his publication at the time of Professor Langendorff's summer holiday. Naturally without any malicious intent; for in this atomic summer of 1956 Professor Walter Gerlach in Munich and Professor Karl Becher in Mainz had come forward shortly before (July) with their measurements of radioactive rainfall. Dr. Walter Herbst's experiments were reassuringly belittled on the grounds that they could only be concerned with random tests which did not admit of generalised conclusions *a posteriori*. Besides, they needed, first of all, to be systematically verified. This verification appeared a year later in the Munich paper *Atomkern-Energie*, Vol. 10, 2nd Year, 1957, pp. 357-367, in a publication put out by the publishers as a special feature under the title "*Untersuchungen über die Radioaktivität der Vegetation*" (Research into the Radiation of Vegetation) by Walter Herbst, Hanns Langendorff, Kurt Philipp, and Kurt Sommermeyer of the Radiological Institute of the University of Freiburg, Breisgau (Director: Professor H. Langendorff). These further proofs fully confirmed the correctness of the measurements which Dr. Herbst had made until 1956.

In connection with this Dr. Walter Herbst wrote to me on 12th December, 1958:

In the discussions with, above all, the then Minister for Atomic Questions (Herr Strauss) I stood also in public by my discoveries. A very detailed examination of my results on the part of three other members of the Radiological Institute and their corroboration by countless similar discoveries throughout the world, demonstrate the completely scientific unreliability of the reproaches made to me; in particular of the reproach that I employed pseudo-scientific methods. A formal retraction of the reproaches by those responsible for them has not so far been made to me.

In Berlin, the first to recognise the experiments of Dr. Herbst was Dr. Schmidt, Director of the County (*Land*) Institute for Nutritional, Pharmacological and Forensic Chemistry. In September, 1956, he showed that it was necessary to supplement the regular control of the quality of food products, which was already customary, by testing for radioactive poisoning. In connection with this the question was, of course, raised as to what was to happen to milk and other food products which were found to be contaminated above the established tolerance level. Apart from the food supply for the people the difficulty remained of how one could effectively get rid of the food-stuff found to be radioactively contaminated.

At the beginning of February, 1958, the Director of the Physical Department of the Federal Research Institute for dairy farming in Kiel announced at a conference on Dairy Farming in connection with the *Grünen Woche** in Berlin: The radioactive trace elements in milk, as also in other food products, are increasing. Even if at the

* The *Grünen Woche* is a week set aside in Berlin for the holding of conferences, competitions, lectures and so on, connected with every aspect of agriculture.

present level the radioactive contamination still presents no acute danger, the seriousness of the situation must none the less be underlined.

At the beginning of July, 1958, the Soil Research Institute of the University of Göttingen reported that in the milk of the Göttingen dairy herds traces of S.90, S.99 and C.137 were identified. In a lecture about "Rain, Grass, Milk and Atom Bombs" the fact was referred to that the number of radiating substances in milk had permanently increased from the beginning of February until the middle of June, 1958. So in Göttingen in June, 1958, there was ten times as much Strontium 90 measured in the milk as in February, 1958.

At the beginning of October, 1958, the Fourth International Convention on Nutrition and Vital Elements, at which scientists of 33 nations gathered in Essen, dealt with the biological damage through atomic contamination. In all the speeches it was continually pointed out that protection against these dangers was difficult as the biological outcome of the radiation was largely unknown. Dr. Dietrich Merten (Kiel) referred to the deposits of radioactive substances. He worked out that the Strontium 90 content of our milk had been raised from two to eight units from 1955 to 1957. At first in 1958 the content was very low, but then, when the cattle were turned out to pasture, it had risen by leaps and bounds and in September, 1958, had reached a Strontium content of 15 units. Of other food plants, rye, wheat and rice were most strongly contaminated with radioactivity.

It is, in the first instance, thanks, once again, to private initiative that we have in 1958 a fairly complete picture of the Strontium 90 content of our foodstuffs. The publishers of *Constanze* in Hamburg commissioned the Physical Institute in Kiel to investigate a considerable quantity of foodstuffs in daily consumption. In *Constanze*, Volume 22, 29th October, 1958, the results of the research were published under the title: "How strongly is our food poisoned?" This noteworthy expenditure on the part of the publishers in the interests of their readers and of humanity has lasting significance because it is possible from the figures then arrived at to ascertain the rise and fall in the level of Strontium 90 in our foodstuffs. This can be done notwithstanding the fact that the natural background activity existing both before and after remain unknown, since it was not measured before the beginning of the atomic tests and can no longer be computed. With the kind permission of the publishers of *Constanze* in Hamburg, I present, in tabular form, the figure in units of Strontium 90 resulting from the investigation:

Oranges	10	veal	1	bream	.1
bananas	5	potatoes	20	pork	1.6
pears	5	lamb	4.7	asparagus	45
cauliflower	20	ling	.1	spinach	32
bread	30	maize	44	runner beans	2.6
butter	1	milk	12	Swedish turnips	13
eggs	5	plums	5	tomatoes	80
goose	4.8	venison	9	white beans	1

cabbage	12	rice (polished)	9	white cabbage	7
cucumbers	3	" (unpolished)	150	cornmeal	31
oatflakes	8	rhubarb	2.5	savoy cabbage	24
hare	10	beef	3.6	sausage	4
herring	.1	rye meal	20	cinnamon	85
stag	65	brussels sprouts	7.5	sugar	1
cheese	10	raisins	5	onions	30

This survey shows that the radioactivity of all our food in daily use, with the exception of unpolished rice, has a content of less than 100 units of Strontium. A few scientists are of the opinion that danger exists for the organisms of the human body when 1,000 units of Strontium 90 are present and see 100 units as the lowest possible threshold figure. The majority of leading geneticists adopt the view-point, however, that it is not possible to establish a danger frontier for the absorption of activity, that is, there is no threshold, and that the smallest raising of the natural radioactivity brings with it genetic damage.

Furthermore, it must be noted that in spite of eventual suspension of the atomic tests, the absorption of radioactive fission products will reach its maximum only in 1970 and will continue in diminishing quantities until the year 2000. If, therefore, in 1958, we see our foodstuffs grown on German soil charged on an average with 15 units of S.90, this charge will be multiplied fourfold by 1970, and where conditions are favourable to it even ten times. That gives a level of from 60 to 150 units of S.90. According to the opinion of Dr. Bechert it must be reckoned that foodstuffs grown on chalk soil have forty times the intake of S.90, that is a maximum of 600 units of Strontium 90. So the researches into our foodstuffs form a disastrous pointer of the atomic age into a grim future.

If, finally, we compare the proportion of measured units of radioactivity in unpolished and polished rice—that is $150:9=17:1$ —we realise also that the husk of the wheat bearing the vital element (Vitamin B³) is also the part most severely contaminated by radioactivity. In the European diet rice plays only a minor part, and only the food reformists use unpolished rice as an important part of their diet and from now onwards it must be omitted. But for the peoples of India, China, Japan and Indonesia, whose staple diet is rice, this vital discovery has the greatest significance and the eating of rice can become for them a direct and acute danger. Almost a thousand million people are involved. The consumption of unpolished rice and with it the intake of Strontium 90 poisoning can be forbidden by simple governmental decree. How far such an order could be carried through among a people who are preponderantly self-supporting is another question. It must be added, too, that the regular consumption of polished rice favours the outbreak and spread of the deficiency sickness known as beri-beri which is caused by a lack of Vitamin B¹. The risk of a resurgence of beri-beri must, however, be included in the picture. Beri-beri can be easily counteracted by means of medical treatment, while radioactive damage can never be reversed.

One hundred and fifty units of Strontium 90 in unpolished rice is no trifle. There is no such thing as a threshold of danger for the intake of radioactive substances and the rays emitted by them and even the smallest raising of the natural quantities take one over the dividing line into the danger zone of radiation damage.

At the end of 1958, the Governor of Minnesota, U.S.A., commissioned the Physical Institute of the University to undertake research into the radioactivity of wheat. The research yielded the discovery of a dangerous increase in S.90. The result of one test exceeded by six times the safety level set by the Atomic Energy Commission (A.E.C.). Speaking on behalf of the research commission, Dr. Visser, of the Medical Faculty of the University of Minnesota, explained: "We did not expect to find so high a percentage of S.90. The situation will doubtless become yet worse if the nuclear weapons tests continue in the world". (The A.E.C. was compelled to confirm the results obtained by the University.) This statement of the research commission of Minnesota more or less confirmed the opinion of the Japanese Professor Kashibawara of Tokio, who had given as his opinion at an earlier date and rather more forcefully: "If the atom bomb tests continue the Japanese nation will be exterminated in 300 years as a result of the radioactive poisoning of the basic foodstuffs". This prognostication of future atomic death does not, however, exclude any other people on earth.

7. The Absorption of Radioactive Trace Elements into the Human Organism and its Consequences

In the first section the two most dangerous radioactive isotopes of global fallout have already been mentioned: Carbon 14 and Strontium 90. And the names of the scientists who untiringly and repeatedly point out the worldwide dangers to mankind for generations to come are familiar to us: Professor Charles-Noël Martin, Professor Karl Bechert, Professor Linus Pauling, Dr. Albert Schweitzer and Dr. Karl Beck.

Carbon 14 finds its entry into the system of the (organic) carbohydrate of the organisms through the process of assimilation and Strontium 90 through the mineral content of the plants. Both isotopes are long-lived: S.90 has a half life of 25 years; C.14 as much as 5,600 years. Both isotopes are taken into the human body with its food. C.14 is taken into the organism of the entire cellular system; S.90, owing to its relation to Calcium, particularly into the structure of the bones and bone marrow. Through continuous storing of these two radioactive trace elements from day to day, month to month and year to year, the human body will itself become a source of continually increasing radiation. It is clear that in children who are still growing, the calcium concentration, and with that the associated S.90, for the building of the skeleton is higher than in adults. Research in the U.S.A. and in England on the skeletons of dead children show that the S.90 level of children compared to that of adults is 5:3.

As regards the external influence of Gamma rays in the human

organism, a roughly estimated, accepted "tolerance dose" has been in existence since the discovery of X-rays and the introduction of radiology more than 50 years ago. In 1904, this was still set as high as 30 roentgen (r) per day; today the highest permitted *weekly* dose is .1 r! That results in an annual value of 5.2 r. That even this threshold value is still set much too high, the simple totalling of dosage for 30 generations averaging 75 years makes plain. For 30 years after this a threshold dose of 156 r was proposed, while at the same time geneticists are teaching that only 30 r to 40 r are tolerable without giving rise to inheritable physiological damage. A comprehensive weekly dose of .1 r yields, over a period of 75 years, as much as a total dose of 390 r which is in no way tolerable according to all the laboratory tests which have taken place with 390 r, but must be shown to be almost a lethal dose.

There is no internationally established tolerance dose for internal rays because this sort of radiation danger was not acute before 1950 and was first occasioned by the atomic age. In order to ascertain a permissible threshold dose experiments and observations would be necessary for decades; and even then, in all probability every cell therapist would decline to make a firm statement relating to an internal radiation dose undamaging to the organism which might be emitted in addition to the already existing natural radiation, because even the smallest raising of internal radiation through the absorption of radioactive trace elements into the organism must have some effect, at least on the organ most sensitive to radiation—the reproductive cells.

The radiation effect of radioactive material is always the same: *ionisation*. The commonly experienced "sensitivity to the weather" and the illnesses associated with weather changes of people with allergies is nothing more than the reaction of the body cells to the temporary ionisation of the layer of air surrounding the body. The radiation emitted from radioactive substances which have been absorbed ionise the cells of the body and thus alter their construction. These alterations in cellular construction show themselves, in diagnosis, to be different diseases such as tumour of the body glands (liver, spleen), bones and bone marrow and, not least, blood cancer or leukemia. As a result of radioactive fallout, the military cobalt bomb is a cause of cancer; the medical "cobalt bomb", however, is used for the cure of cancer. How do these things exist side by side? High radiation doses of 500 r and above cause the death of body cells which similar external rays caused. It is on this that modern radiological cancer healing rests.

The genetic results of internal radiation

Laboratory tests in the twenties of the twentieth century show that, by means of the ionising process, X-rays alter the structure of the bearers of inherited characteristics, the genes, and thereby mutation, that is the alteration of the internal and external characteristics of the body, as well as the alteration of the mental and physical character

of the descendents, takes place (malformation, degeneration). The chief evidence for genetic radiation damage resulting from the atomic age has already been demonstrated by the atomic frogs of Amsterdam and fish from Bikini. In the spring of 1957, the news went through the world press of English "atom babies" from Cheltenham Spa; diminutive, premature babies with a weight of barely three pounds and with a death rate of 50 per cent. Research began in 1954 when such premature births were registered as almost epidemic. According to the opinion of the doctors, additional radioactive fallout brought into particularly striking activity the already present radioactivity of the healing springs at Cheltenham.

At the end of 1958, the Pakistani paper *Pakistan Observer*, reported more than five cases of anencephaly in unborn children. These cases were registered by Pakistani doctors in Dacca in less than two months and were considered as instances of mutation resulting from the radioactive fallout after nuclear explosions. The medical profession of East Pakistan is pursuing further enquiries into the interdependence of rising radioactivity and the increase in abortive births.

The head doctor of the Bayreuth Children's Clinic, Dr. Karl Beck, established for Germany a rise in the incidence of malformation at birth from 1.1 per cent in 1950 to 3.7 per cent in 1957. That is an increase of 240 per cent. Dr. Karl Beck published his experiments under the title: *Malformation and Atom-bomb Tests*. This publication led, in April, 1958, to a question being asked by the SPD (Social Democratic Party, Germany) in the Bavarian diet. The Bavarian Ministry adopted the attitude of a number of leading doctors. Dr. Beck's statement concerning the increase in malformation of newborn children was contradicted by the statistics of cause of death collected throughout the area; they did not recognise such a development. Upon this, Dr. Beck took up his position in the December number of the Munich paper *Das Gewissen* and argued against the reliability of these collected statistics on account of the unreliability of the hitherto employed registration technique and showed in detail:

1. Paper No. 1796 included only a small number of the deformed (5).
2. According to Paper 1796, the registration through doctors, midwives and hospitals was carried out only in the rarest cases.
3. In the event of the death of a malformed child, the statement that the malformation was the cause of death was often withheld at the wish of the parents.
4. Meningocele and other deformations of the spine, as well as a series of congenital heart defects, have, during the last few years, ceased to be fatal during the first few weeks of life.
5. There are malformations which are not outwardly visible.

Dr. Beck then said further:

That my statements are unusable as the foundation for a practical discussion is a point of view which is still to be demonstrated. I personally cannot believe in a chance conditioned exception to reality which cannot hold its own against the actual statistics. Since my student days I have been interested in the question of malformation (Essay, 1916). Moreover, during my work in practice as a specialist in children's diseases from 1923-1944 I had rich opportunity to examine and treat all kinds of malformation. As Senior Doctor of

the Bayreuth Children's Clinic since May, 1945, I have been able to lay great stress on the detection and diagnosis of congenital malformation. Proof of this was to be supplied by the recognition of 29 cases of malformation between April and November of 1957. As the criticism of my research has taken quite characteristic forms, has spoken of pseudo-scientific research, conscious misleading and "ripeness for the lunatic asylum" (to quote verbatim a head doctor from Czerny Hospital in Heidelberg), then I will at once, in common with the Mastersingers, lay claim for myself to the title of honour of the "Nightwatchman of Bayreuth", meaning, of course, that the night-watchman raises his warning voice. And because, owing to atomic tests, twelve o'clock is certainly past, I might slightly alter the cry of the nightwatchman: "Listen, all you people, and let me tell you, the clock has already struck twelve. Beware of apparitions and spectres, so that no evil spirit bewitch your soul. Let all men praise God". I have, as an old man, lifted up my voice in warning. Now it would really be time most earnestly to discover which is the lowest number of rays to cause damage and not to pacify oneself with calming claptrap about the "so far harmless" rays. To be warned should be enough. And this will be my last word in this discussion: I hope that mankind will soon realise that it is more than high time to recognise the danger of atomic poisoning in every sphere and undertake to denounce it.

It is remarkable with what fairness Dr. Beck defends himself against those serious accusations raised against him. Dr. Beck punctiliously assembles the reasons which indicate the lack of authority of the official statistics of the area, instead of simply rejecting the document as being, in general, completely without foundation. Since when have all physical malformations been fatal either as a matter of course or in general? To quote a table of causes of death as a document proving that there are no malformations resulting from atomic poisoning is absurd.

Did the biologist, Dr. Hillenius, in September, 1957, perhaps collect in the drainage system of the city of Amsterdam malformed frogs which were dead? Or were the monstrously deformed Bikini fish, which were drawn up at about the same time by the crew of the Japanese expedition ship, *Shinkotsu Maru*, from the South Seas near Bikini, also dead?

In conclusion here is another table of the number of atomic tests covering 14 years:

Atomic tests	U.S.A.	Russia	England
1945/50	8	1	0
1951/55	51	11	2
1956/58	72	43	19
"Black"*	25	18	0
	—	—	—
Total	156	73	21
	Altogether 250		

The Special Commission on Radioactivity under the direction of Professor Rajewski, Frankfurt, has conscientiously collected announcements of all the atom bomb tests which have taken place upon earth and which so far have come to the knowledge of the public. The

* i.e., undeclared.

number of atom bomb tests (registered by DAFAK/Berlin) reported by the committee, covers the period until the end of 1957. Since then the United States have held 96, Russia 31 and England 17, making 144 altogether. The decline in the figures for 1958 is explained by the fact that in that year "black" tests were also carried out by two countries. The conjecture that one cannot accept too exactly the information about experiments has been held for a long time, only the number of "black" tests is controversial. If we accept the conclusions of the Special Commission we get the following balance sheet for 1958:

United States	...	...	35	+	25	("black")	=	60
Russia	...	...	24	+	18	("black")	=	42
England	...	...	...	...	...	...	=	4

altogether 106 tests. This is an increase of 235 per cent since the 45 tests of 1957, or of 42.2 per cent of all nuclear explosions since 1945 (= 250). When we consider that of these 250 atomic explosions 70 per cent were of the Hiroshima type, the classic A-bomb, with a strength of 20 kilotons, there still remain 30 per cent, or 75 bombs, varying from 5 to 50 megatons. The subsequent effect of each single H-bomb corresponds to that of 1,000 to 3,000 bombs of the Hiroshima type. The effect of the 75 H-bombs is in the vicinity of about 150,000 Hiroshima A-bombs. How can one then coolly assert: "There is absolutely no ground for disquiet"? Grounds are certainly given if the stock pile of 13,000 H-bombs belonging to the three atomic powers fly into the air and with them the whole of mankind. In case no one is there any more to assess the results, we thoughtfully give them now, in advance and precisely, as being the equivalent of twenty-six million "baby" bombs of the Hiroshima type.

Ernst Zander & John Clarkson

SEX AND SOCIETY

Contemporary Issues, No. 34, contained John Clarkson's article, *The Function of Anti-Sex—the Social Meaning of Dr. Erich Fromm's Ethical Desexualization of Psychoanalysis*. The same issue of the magazine also included E. I. Pye's *Psychology and Society: Comments on the Views of Clarkson and Fromm*. Finally, in No. 36, Alan Dutscher's *The Limits of Psychoanalysis; an Answer to Clarkson and Pye*, appeared. These articles were the subject of two letters by Ernst Zander, letters which were interrupted by his untimely

death, and of a rejoinder to the first of these by John Clarkson. The correspondence is presented virtually in its entirety, with only some minor editorial corrections and a few deletions of sections not relevant to the matter under discussion.

Letter to John Clarkson, by Ernst Zander

19th October, 1958

Dear John,

I have, for obvious reasons, interfered less and less, in the last two years, with the affairs of *Contemporary Issues*, but now I have to say a few words because I owe you an apology.

An apology? And why?

Well, a few days ago, I read for the first time your *Function of Anti-Sex* and found it to my great surprise an excellent piece, well thought out, well presented and written in the true spirit in which *Contemporary Issues* was founded. I simply cannot make out why people were so heavily against it and didn't want to see it printed in *Contemporary Issues* or, if printing had been wrongly promised, only together with an "adequate" answer to it. I can, however, say: If the leading opponents to your article believed that their opposition was in line with what I myself have written about *psychology*, my only possible answer is a quotation from Andrew Maxwell's letter of 29th Sept., reading:

The other side of the coin, which is not said because it is not realised, is this: that what Ernst *has* written is not . . . understood.

It is a remark which is in *general* so true that just this state of affairs has sometimes driven me to the point of complete disgust and despair. For the matter doesn't rest there and I must add: The non-understanding is in some cases a *deliberate* one and aims directly at the separation of theory from practice. To use a sentence from your article:

And this separation of theory and practice, it happens, is the essence of "alienation"—namely also the alienation from understanding, from intellectual and moral honesty.

We are, indeed, in no way obliged to print "shit" and it is one of the grossest distortions of our concept to insist on publication of an article which the majority rejects. If our procedure is not without dangers and can lead to injustices (as it would have in your case)—it is still the only alternative to complete anarchy and ruin while, on the other hand, the wrong can always be repaired. Thus I regretted the publication of your article and regretted still more the fact (I say *fact* because I was, in this case, *well acquainted* with E. I. Pye's answer to you) that now we had already so far degenerated as to answer a bad piece (yours) with a still worse one (Pye's piece). Now I'm happy to see that only the *Comments on the Views of Clarkson and Fromm* are rubbish and I hope that Dutschler (whom I told to enlarge his article by taking in what is "wrong" in *your* article) has not taken my advice or has at least restricted himself to some rather unimportant points which one *can* discuss. In any

case: I'm sorry to have condemned your article without a fair hearing and beg you to forgive me—it shall never happen again.

As for criticism of your article: I found only one serious mistake which, I'm convinced, could have been avoided if I had seen your article as *manuscript*. You write on page 81 (I shall add here and there an emphasis):

Thus they minimise the rôle of sexual behavior. Sex becomes trivial. Or the problem is taken care of by the brazen assertion that "sexual repression has diminished to a remarkable degree," that a "sexual revolution" as virtually established "sexual freedom". *Licence is not sexual freedom*, but commonly the concomitant of restriction and frustration.

On page 80:

... in his discussion of "sexual satisfaction", Dr. Fromm manages to evoke images of the *disturbed* potency of the so-called sexual athlete. Does Dr. Fromm, as an authority on psychoanalysis, mean to identify priapic prowess with sexual satisfaction? It is now commonly understood that it is exactly the *pathological inability* to achieve sexual satisfaction that is frequently manifested in satyriasis and nymphomania.

Same page:

Dr. Fromm states that "sexual desires can be the expression of fear, vanity, or a wish for domination . . ." Most assuredly this is true of *disordered* sexual desire. Such *pathological perversion* is symptomatic of neurosis, as Dr. Fromm well knows. And it is exactly widespread neurosis of this kind that lies at the core of prevailing "social character".

On page 79:

Does Dr. Fromm dare imply that "mental health and happiness" are possible for those whose sexual life is chronically disturbed, frustrated, or denied? . . . Does Dr. Fromm openly state that marriages can be happy, wholesome, or even tolerable, which fail to yield sexual satisfaction? Or does he seek to avoid ambiguity by making any clear assertion to the contrary? Characteristically, Dr. Fromm *confuses* and *evades* the issue.

On page 82:

Success in persuading the public that "happy" marriages can be achieved in spite of incidental sexual frustration can have a number of consequences. It at once elevates the institution of compulsive marriage to a relatively secure and protected position above the uncertain fluctuations of individual misery in an endemic social condition of material and emotional insecurity. But by denying the importance of sexual satisfaction *within* the marriage relation, it surreptitiously opens the door to the *sub-rosa* quest for illicit sexual satisfaction *outside* the marriage relation.

Thus the defence of compulsive marriage becomes, in effect, the defence of what its champions pretend to abhor. For in defending marriage devoid of sexual satisfaction, they are shoring and patching a façade of *hypocrisy* that hides but dimly an *utterly fantastic* saturnalia of *neurosis* and *crime* from which *everything that is joyful, wholesome and responsible* in the sex relation is *more completely excluded* with every passing day.

... As we have seen, to exclude "sexual satisfaction" as a necessary prerequisite for marital happiness may either be to deny force to the sexual appetite or to suggest that "satisfaction" can be achieved outside the marriage relation. There is a third alternative, however, namely, the *ethical* solution to the problem of happiness. This is the one that

Dr. Fromm falls back on, quoting Spinoza to the effect that happiness is *virtue*, the delight whereby we restrain our lusts.

Then on page 83:

But what if the "requirements of culture" are such as do not yield happiness? Ah, then the individual's drive for satisfaction must be adjusted, but not the social structure. It is from this standpoint that Dr. Fromm attempts to persuade us that marriages devoid of sexual gratification can be happy ones.

All this is, of course, excellent and pictures a sexual, intellectual and moral status in which we discover *not a shadow* of a *positive* trend but only hypocrisy, dirtiness and putrescence. And this all the more so because there is no resistance against the attempts of Fromm and other such worthy fellows. On the contrary: "radicals", "intellectuals" and "revolutionaries" imitate (only on a lower level) the most abominable vices of the ruling classes (naked orgies with mass copulation, exchange of wives in the most crudely dishonoring manner, exhibition and the like sub-animal "pleasures")—the same ruling classes whom they otherwise brand and denounce for their vices and low practices. And these "radicals" (not Stalinists but those who consider themselves to be the "cream of the cream" with a "mission"—indeed!—in their back)—these "revolutionaries" do not even hide an utterly fantastic saturnalia of neurosis and crime from which everything that is joyful, wholesome and responsible in the sex relation is completely excluded. Again on the contrary: They boast about it, tell their companions in lewdness about the "nice" experiences they had and often try to force others into the same "niceties" by exercising "ideological" pressure such as—believe it or not!—"this is socialism" or—"let's live Rabelaisian"! And then this human filth accepts "quite naturally" Fromm's view "that marriages devoid of sexual gratification can be happy ones" in a still more hypocritical form: "Love" is reserved for the woman with whom one is married but who has no "sexual attraction" for her "lover"—"sex" is reserved for the women to be f outside of the marital relation. But don't think that "intellectual" pigs who boast that they have given "unlimited freedom" to their wives will not exercise irrational, unnecessary and harmful compulsion. Once more on the contrary—it is clear that dirtiness leads always deeper into the swamp and that only low-grade creatures practise the vices of the bourgeoisie whom they "hate" for purely sub-animal and petty bourgeois reasons. Human pigs who use their wives for their own ends are by definition crude and usually have little chance "to get what they want" or lose their "conquests" frequently after one "experience". Let, then, the wife of the lovely "lover" find a satisfactory sexual relation (especially with a man who is not a pig) and the disappointed donor of "freedom" will use the cheapest pretext to cut her "freedom" off and to demand the end of that freedom. In consequence: The "lover" will not only force his wife into submission—he will exploit her sexually as well as economically. Therewith the circle of *general* coercion and submission is closed: "Licence is not freedom, but commonly the

concomitant of restriction and frustration"—compulsive marriage devoid of sexual gratification remains what it was: outright prostitution and sheer hypocrisy.

I could add a lot more and will probably have to say something about this in connection with Kinsey when Ecker's article on the Kinsey Report appears¹, but this is enough for now and I repeat: There is not a single *progressive* trend in the whole picture and it is therefore nothing but excellent when you characterize Fromm's "sexual revolution" as follows (page 91):

Dr. Fromm writes of a moral "rebellion [that has] developed since the beginning of our century". In *The Sane Society* he characterizes this social phenomena as a "sexual revolution", specifically stating that "after the First World War, a sexual revolution took place in which old inhibitions and principles were thrown overboard". It is true that old inhibition and principles were thrown overboard to some extent. But this *negative* development does *not* constitute a true "sexual revolution" in *any positive sense*. It marks no advent into sexual freedom in the sense of establishing *free* and *positive alternatives* for sexual expression as a *release from irrational, unnecessary, and harmful compulsion*. More properly called rebellion [let me insert: rebellion is always petty bourgeois and hypocritical], what has transpired so far is, *in fact*, the sexual phase of the general *breakdown* that precedes the social transition to an economy of abundance. To the extent that social transition is held back, sexual *mores* are bound to grow increasingly more *chaotic*.

Yes, this is excellent, but (and now we meet your mistake) it stands in open contradiction to the following passage at the very end of your article:

The much publicized and deplored "breakdown" in sexual morality, *far from being a manifestation of decay and decadence, is actually in large extent and in general direction a progressive development*. However crude, uneven, and seemingly [!] irresponsible, the "sexual rebellion" constitutes a *break through of vital force* that refuses to be bound by a strangulated culture. With the advent of material abundance and the consequent liberation of human desire, the despised flesh will come into its own; humans will achieve an innocence and freedom yearned for but never known; and sex will become *pure* and an *end* in itself as it ceases to be exploited as a *means* for anchoring economic restriction.

The open contradiction lies, of course, in the first two sentences. First: In the foregoing passage you characterize the "sexual rebellion" rightly as, *in fact*, "the sexual phase of the general *breakdown*". But it so happens that this "sexual phase" of the *breakdown* is identical with the "much publicized and deplored 'breakdown' [now in quotation marks] in sexual morality" in your last passage. And it so happens that the "breakdown" is a real "breakdown" which I myself have often *deplored* before friends to whom I could speak seriously or at least believed I could—have deeply deplored it because it is a *negative* development resulting exactly in *chaos, deprivation, submission* (to the vices of the bour-

1. "Sex As A Problem," by Paul Ecker. *Contemporary Issues*, No. 36.

geoisie)—in short: resulting indeed in and being really “a *manifestation of decay and decadence*”. Formerly you described (and rightly so) this “negative” development as *not constituting* a true sexual revolution in *any positive* sense, now the breakdown is *actually* in *large extent* and in *general direction* a *progressive* (thus *generally positive*) development; formerly the sexual revolution was denied and marked “no advent into sexual freedom in the sense of establishing free and *positive* alternatives for sexual expression as a *release* from irrational, unnecessary and harmful compulsion”; now the sexual “rebellion”, however *crude* (!), uneven and only “seemingly” irresponsible, constitutes a *break through of vital force*; formerly sexual *mores* were bound to grow *increasingly* more *chaotic* to the extent that social transformation is held back, now the most chaotic sexual irresponsibility is only “seemingly” irresponsible and so on. We have then, *in summa*, a “sexual rebellion” which is on the one side the sexual phase of the general *breakdown* and on the other side amounts to—a true *revolution*, namely one which is *actually* in *large extent* and in *general direction* a *progressive* development.

Unfortunately, there is (rare cases of individuals notwithstanding) no *development* at all—I have, above, spoken about “radicals”, “revolutionaries” and “intellectuals” in order to show you that even at that extreme we will find in *practice* nothing but a true *breakdown* in the sense that a rotten house (decay and decadence) breaks down and “develops” into a chaotic mass which one has to *remove* in order to get something “progressive” in its place. In other words: What is really involved in our “rebellion” is exactly *pathological inability* to achieve sexual satisfaction (manifested in satyriasis and nymphomania), widespread neurosis of this kind (pathological perversion), *disordered* sexual desire, saturnalia of *neurosis* and *crime* from which everything that is joyful, wholesome and *responsible* is excluded, submission to the lowest vices (sub-animal standard), crudeness (which is always a manifestation of irresponsibility), coercion and sadism. It will not help to look for a “vital” force that refuses to be bound by a strangulated culture, because that “vital” force is the same that had already long, long ago manifested itself in the waste-products of the ruling classes, who still set the “standard” of decay and decadence to which our “rebels” are so tightly *bound* that they appear only as waste-products of a lower order. In addition: Fascism too was a “vital” force and there was even much idealism in the Hitler-youth, but that did not alter the fact that this idealism was totally false and it did not make fascism *progressive*. I am, naturally, willing to learn about the “progressive” development—for the time being I firmly assert that it doesn’t exist and that we must fight a “rebellion” which stinks from top to bottom. As if I needed more proof for my assertion: I have recently read Norman Mailer’s *The Naked and the Dead*. I recommend you study this piece of naturalistic shit and keep an eye on the sexual “rebellion” displayed therein. I assure you: It tells more about the “rebel” who wrote that shit than about anything else.

If, thus, the breakdown remains a breakdown—the same applies

to "juvenile delinquency" about which you, also mistakenly, write:

The sexual "rebellion" which Dr. Fromm cannot deny, is well advanced. Not only does it find expression in mounting divorce [which in itself is only a—negative development], but the so-called "juvenile delinquency" is in part the revolt of youth against the incredible restrictions officially maintained by our society against adolescent sexuality. This is a revolt against the ancient sexual discipline of the home which has long enforced sexual privation in an economy of scarcity, and to ensure submissiveness to work and duty. The shame and tragedy of so-called "juvenile delinquency" is the manner in which our best and most vital youth are broken and wasted because they will not tamely submit to irrational and inhuman requirements of a moribund culture.

You speak, in the last sentence, so generally about "so-called" juvenile delinquency (which is, in truth, a real phenomenon) and obtain so easily another "revolt" against sexual privation that no more than the general reply is required: It is the most rotten and most hopeless youth which is involved in juvenile delinquency—just that youth which is *incapable of resisting* the general putrescence of the existing order and thus only submits to it. It is a common error to conclude: A phenomenon exists—therefore it has a "positive" side or is justified or even "right". Thus you: Juvenile delinquency exists—therefore it is the manner in which our *best* and most *vital* (but vitality is in no way a criterion and most gangsters are very "vital") youth are broken and wasted. But in order to see how wrong your conclusion is you have only to ask yourself what our youth would do if it really were the "best". The answer is clear: It would despise the existing order with its abominable vices and would, in view of the general irresponsibility, try to live *responsibly*. And just because of this it would (especially if it were very *vital*) approach the *freedom* of which LeClerc in his introduction to Rabelais speaks². It would indeed despise all *conventional* morality and establish for itself sexual relations *free* from social restrictions, but therefore it would ask:

Is morality [namely *responsibility*] menaced? No, it would reply, because "*men that are free, of gentle birth, well bred and at home in civilized company* [in short: the *best*], possess a natural instinct that inclines them to virtue and saves them from vice. This instinct they name their honor".³

To put it more concretely: Only weak, unfree and badly bred people (whether young or old) establish sexual relations with the view that perhaps tomorrow they will find something "better"; only such people marry for economic reasons and take what they by chance can "get" because they are too "tired to look around" any longer (marriage without being deeply enamoured); only such people prosti-

2. Introduction by Jacques LeClerc to the Modern Library edition of *Gargantua and Pantagruel*.

3. "Appeal for an English edition of Diderot's *Jack the Fatalist*" by Wilhelm Lunen, *Contemporary Issues*, No. 15. Lunen and Zander were both pen-names of Joseph Weber.

tute themselves and their partners, exercise compulsion and become criminals when they feel *completely* frustrated (*frustrated* they feel always) or too much tortured by their desires.

On the other side: well bred people will look for relations in which their whole being is deeply (so to speak, hopelessly) involved and which promise duration. They may, of course, be disappointed if it comes to the test (especially if they are inexperienced), but then they will not continue a sexual relation from which (to quote you again) everything that is joyful, wholesome and responsible is more completely excluded with every passing day—they will end that relation and find a solution in honor (by which nobody gets hurt beyond what may lie in the nature of the case).

The question of *monogamy* is not involved and you have well formulated what is at stake:

When all compulsion disappears out of marriage, and sexual relations, for the first time in history, become the free acts of free agents, then and only then shall we finally know to what extent monogamy is a condition for human happiness. And when that time arrives the question shall have largely lost significance.

May I add: For well bred people the question of monogamy has here and now already lost significance—what is really significant in the present breakdown is the question of promiscuity or “the community of wives” which Marx and Engels already castigated in *The Communist Manifesto* and which is the “ideal” of our most “revolutionary”—rebels who always separate theory and praxis and declare that just this sub-animal practice is one of the main features of “socialism”. Monogamy is impossible today, for even the most perfect sexual relations can for various reasons (among them purely physical ones) come to an end (and then one must have the freedom—if circumstances dictate so: *take* it—to search for another relation), but equally impossible is the retreat into primitivity and the “animal kingdom” which our most “revolutionary”—rebels love so much and with which they try to cover their baseness. This, too, you have seen well when you write:

Speculation about primeval conditions is mostly fanciful, and is usually based either upon false analogies with the behavior of others animal species or upon unwarranted inferences drawn from recent observations of “primitive” human groups, the “lowest” of which are far removed in cultural evolution from the primeval stages.

Indeed: Imagine a man who first reads to the girl he intends “to lay” excerpts from Briffault’s *The Mothers* about “biting” among animals in order to prepare and stimulate her for his “activities” (I know such a case), and you have a nice illustration of the perverted purposes for which false analogies with the behavior of other animal species and primitive people are drawn. No, primitivity is a symptom of well advanced decay and decadence, and the greater the number of human pigs who accept it, the greater the intellectual and physical putridity of the social body. Dismissing thus the pseudo-problem of polygamy and monogamy—the revolutionary solution to the sexual

problem, practicable today, is: *succession* of relations if the old ones are no longer tenable, not that undifferentiated and utterly unaesthetic *simultaneity* of relations which our rebels venerate. It is clear that this solution requires two things: character and responsibility.

With that I must take leave for today. I would be very glad to hear your opinion and about yourself. If everything goes well, I shall try to work this letter out a little and make it a piece for *Contemporary Issues*. Too bad I can't see you now—I shall stay in Europe probably until October next year. Please, continue to write for *Contemporary Issues*—if anything can save it from further decadence, then it is only writings of the kind you have presented.

Cordially yours,
Ernst



Letter to Ernst Zander, by John Clarkson

27th November, 1958

Dear Ernst,

Yours of 19th Oct. received this past week. Your kind remarks about the Anti-Sex naturally made me feel very good. And surprised me a little, too, for I had not expected this.

It is generous of you to write as you did. Believe me, I can well appreciate the difficulties under which you labor. For my part, I find myself so oppressed and curtailed that I cannot accomplish one-tenth of what I should like to do. The system bears down so heavily on all of us, and especially as we grow older. Merely to survive and to keep something of a critical and informed mind becomes an endeavor of heroic proportions. It would be so easy to slip beneath the surface of the universal cesspool.

You complain—with entire justification, I know—about being misunderstood. You write, "the non-understanding in some cases is a *deliberate* one and aims directly at the separation of theory and practice". Most assuredly the objective is separation of theory from practice. Pressure is upon us from all sides to preserve this separation so that present lunatic social practice remains undisturbed. Reason is befuddled, and not accidentally. But the promotion of non-understanding need not be deliberate, and rarely is, I think, in the sense of being consciously and cynically practised. Certainly, the *desire* not-to-understand issuing out of the *need* not-to-understand is widespread, being present to some degree at one time or another in most of us, yet it is nearly always heavily disguised, and almost never comes out in the open freely, but must be drawn out as painfully as an abscessed tooth.

Communication of truth when it would enjoin the revision of practices people are not willing or able to disturb is nearly always a wasted and thankless effort. The "appeal to reason" does not suffice when there are reasons for not being reasonable. But such reasons keep themselves well hidden. Often in elaborate intellectual

constructions. People are apt not to be receptive to truth unless they have a special need for it. Why do some few come to see through the system? Not because of *superior* intelligence, although intelligence is involved. But mainly because the search for a solution to some burning personal problem forced them to take to the forbidden and untrodden ways.

The "sexual rebellion", so-called, has both its positive and its negative aspect. What is progressive is intermingled with what is retrogressive in true dialectical fashion. Thus, I must firmly insist that there is no contradiction in my argument when I point on one hand to a "fantastic saturnalia of neurosis and crime", and on the other to a wholesome and progressive "break-through of vital force that refuses to be bound by a strangulated culture". We have, in fact, both.

We are powerfully obligated to refute apologists for the *status quo*, like Fromm, who are so eager to have us believe that the "sexual problem" is substantially solved; in any case, inconsequential, and not to be taken too seriously. Against such deceit must be thrown the full weight of the sexual *degeneration* and *misery* of our time. Eyes must not be averted from this putrescent sore. The last subterfuge of the *Anti-Sex* is attempted relegation of the sexual problem to the status of a minor nuisance.

The breakdown now in progress of the old, repressive taboos has produced more than nastiness and degeneracy. The release from guilt and fear experienced by many constitutes a positive gain. Sex emancipation and the decline of religious superstition proceed together. Beneficent and responsible relationships both within and without the frame of marriage are being achieved by not a few exemplars of the new freedom.

There are evidences for the hopeful view, if one looks for them. Let me cite but one, the current best seller, *Sex Without Guilt*, by Dr. Albert Ellis, now in its second printing. This book first appeared serially in *The Independent* during 1956 and 1957. In December, 1957, Dr. Ellis wrote:

If I were, in a simple sentence, to summarize the gist of what I have been saying in *The Independent* during the last two years, that sentence would read something like this: Every human being, just because he exists, should have the right to as much (or as little), as enduring (or as brief), as varied (or as monotonous), as intense (or as mild), sexual enjoyments as he prefers—as long as, in the process of acquiring these preferred satisfactions, he does not needlessly, forcefully, or unfairly interfere with the sexual (or non-sexual) rights and satisfactions of others . . . Already, as compared to previous centuries and decades, societal condemnation of innocuous sex pleasures has considerably decreased. If a sufficient number of American believe, as I do, that truly harmful and anti-social sex behaviour should be curbed, but that other sex participations should be, if anything, encouraged; and if enough of these sexual democrats openly say, by their words and deeds [theory and practice—J. C.] what they believe, our antiquated, anti-human anti-sexual codes will more quickly and profoundly wither away.

That thousands have bought Dr. Ellis's book and that it continues

to top *The Independent's* best seller list month after month indicates that it has some appeal and influence. In reading the Ellis articles I discovered something of the same viewpoint as I had previously found expressed by Lunen⁴—that is to say a healthy and natural acceptance of sex pleasures, provided "nobody gets hurt". Thus Jacques' reply: "I don't know whether I violated her, but I do know for sure that I didn't hurt her any and that she didn't hurt me."

And so we arrive at "juvenile delinquency" by way of Jacques, whom we find, aged 22, continuing, in the path of his juvenile peccadillos (pretended "pucelage"), his harmless, but nevertheless adulterous alliance with Dames Suzanne and Marguerite, both at the same time. No, I must also, and just as firmly insist that what I wrote about "juvenile delinquency" was not mistaken in any part. But perhaps I failed to dwell on the subject long enough to make my meaning perfectly clear.

I had a reason for writing the "so-called 'juvenile delinquency'", putting this phrase in quotation marks. The intention was to indicate 4. *op. cit.*

that at least part of what society presently considers delinquent behavior is really not delinquent at all. And what is that part? For one thing the gratification by adolescents of their normal needs for sexual pleasure, which is nothing less than their natural right now perversely denied by society.

In the patriarchal beginnings of European culture, the right to sexual pleasure was reserved to the older men. Women and children had no sexual rights. Women have now come a long way toward winning sexual equality with men. But children are only beginning to assert their sex right.

Precisely the more *vital youth*, the more energetic, the more venturesome, are chiefly those who refuse to submit. No crime is worse. So society breaks them. A criminal society turns them into criminals. Who is there to show our youth the way to a good life? More often, no one at all. There are theories, but no practice. It is as if they were already in hell with so many devils of priests, teachers, cops and judges, all prodding them into the fires of perdition. The crimes against our children are filthy, devilish and innumerable. The crimes of so-called "gangsters" are small in comparison.

Yet some of the youth do come through the fire, partly by accident and partly by the grace of the natural good that is in us all. An intelligent young person who has experienced sexual pleasure, finding it good and beautiful, is not likely to listen to any priest, who would have him believe that his flesh is nasty and evil. Or trivial. Thus in part the decline of religious superstition, and it is declining, although outwardly the churches still seem to hold their own as shrines of conformity.

In a society that is a school for gangsterism, the best youth (most vigorous biological endowments) run the greatest risk of miseducation. The out-and-out hoodlums and gangsters are not the most depraved. Those who live by war are far lower by any rational scale of humane morals. War has now become the absolute crime, and those who

follow it as a profession, absolute criminals. In forcing all male youth into military service, we are placing them in the hands of criminals to be conditioned under the auspices of the State in proficiency in the most obscene delinquency of all. Business, even the professions, in particular medicine, are largely in the hands of adult delinquents. Delinquent behavior by any wholesome standard is so usual, so accepted, so unnoticed that it is now practically the social norm. What a Pecksniffian spectacle, a society of adult delinquents lamenting the delinquency of the rising generations.

The sex right of children—here is an issue that imposes severe demands. Even those who are not horrified at the idea of the natural right of children to sex pleasure, may well boggle at supporting this right in practice. Much real danger is involved.

How can youth know the "best", and it must know the best to be the best, if everything seen and known is the worst? What wholesome example is there to present youth with a choice or even an inkling? I am not entirely sure of what you mean by "well bred" people. If breeding means education, then most are badly bred, for the net of miseducation is flung so wide few escape.

Finally, I don't want to be misunderstood by anyone as saying that "juvenile delinquency" is *wholly* a matter of sex revolt. I specifically state that sex is only a part. As already indicated, I don't think "juvenile delinquency" is a particularly useful concept. In fact I think it is mostly promoted by those who by profession live on the wrongs of the children; that it echoes the exploitation of youth.

Your letter touched numerous secondary and incidental points. There is time only for a few. For one, I can hardly agree that *only* a "succession of relations" is permissible, never "*simultaneity*" of relations. I believe it wholly possible for a man to love several women at one time, and likewise, one woman, several men. Love, unlike material goods, has the faculty of expanding when spread around. The Oneida experiment proved this conclusively. For these good and highly responsible people, exclusiveness of amative affections, was held to be a serious vice. The roots of jealousy are in exploitation. Also in honesty and frankness one must add that absence of deep affection does not necessarily make a casual relationship bad, nor are casual relationships always bad, either. I think our friend Jacques would testify to this. Also Dr. Ellis explains this well. The fact is that no fixed rule can be laid down for sex, except the general one that no one gets hurt. And as the consequences of even the simplest act can never be completely foreseen, there is always some risk. Courage, intelligence, humanity and responsibility, these are the requirements, and beyond these, the favor of the gods, if one be blest.

A copy of Dutscher's article has come in just as I am finishing this up. I must take a moment to comment on what he considers to be an "error" in the *Anti-Sex*. Namely, an exaggerated notion of the rôle of sexuality in history. If I exaggerate, Dutscher seems overly concerned to minimize. Why should one wish to deny the universal element of sexual restriction in the development of human

culture under scarcity? The explanation is sufficiently worked out in the *Anti-Sex*, nor is it necessary to go through it again, here. But how can anyone overlook the great bulk of sexually restrictive practices in human cultures? Such restrictive cultural complexes regulating sex as marriage and incest prohibitions are all but universal. Restriction expressing itself in circumcision, both male and female, taboos surrounding menstruation, and other restrictive mores bearing upon sex are very widespread, both geographically and in time. Such imposing bulk simply cannot be conjured out of sight. And reason demands some sort of theory to account for this phenomenon. Mine is that such restrictions have economic utility as a disciplinary force promoting the sacrifice of productive labor under scarcity. If Dutscher has a better explanation let him put it forward. Incidentally I do not claim originality for this theory. It is pretty openly implied in Engels. Remember Engels says in the Preface to the first edition of his *Origin of the Family* that "no less a man than Karl Marx" had intended had he lived to draw out the implications of Morgan's anthropology in the light of his own conclusions. Had these intentions been realized, I feel certain that an explanation of sex restriction similar to that in the *Anti-Sex* would have been explicitly set forth. Also Marcuse in his *Eros and Civilization* has covered everything in the *Anti-Sex* and has gone far beyond it. I had read only the slightest chapter in Marcuse's book when I finished the *Anti-Sex*, else I had revised the *Anti-Sex* in some portions, and had paid Marcuse a much more respectful tribute.

The best,
John



Letter to Paul Ecker, by Ernst Zander

3rd April, 1959

Dear Paul,

First: You can't understand how I could have condemned John C.'s article without reading it? Read my letter to John, dear Paul, which clears that matter up: It was my fault—I should not have trusted the judgment of certain loudspeakers who are dilettanti in theoretical matters and weak as thinkers.

Second: You write:

I cannot understand how you discover any but the most trivial merit in the piece [of John], which is based [!] foursquare upon Freudianism, operates on a theory of sexual determinism which has not the slenderest support anthropologically and stands contrary to ideas which you yourself have strongly expressed on many occasions. His reply to your letter brings all of this even more clearly into focus, if possible, and should prompt you to take a second look at what you have praised so fulsomely.

Dear Paul, I have the bad habit to make very sure before I commit myself in writing. But I followed your advice, took one more "severe" and extraordinarily "close" look at John's article and—

found it even better than I had thought. Let me tell you, then, that your assertions are based foursquare upon a profound non-understanding of John's article and the ideas I have expressed (I have already in my letter to John said that I'm no witness against his article). I cannot now go at length into the matter, I can only indicate what is *really* going on.

(a) John writes an article on *The Social [!] Meaning of Erich Fromm's Ethical Desexualization of [!] Psychoanalysis*. To do this is an excellent undertaking, and I quote somebody who has, among many other similar things, written: "The liberation of mankind can only be accomplished when as many individuals as possible have at their disposal sufficient knowledge and fight [!] with its help against literary, scientific, artistic and political deception, against stupidity and sham knowledge in every form". Now, the first thing we have to know is whether John is right with his basic thesis, namely with Fromm's desexualization of psychoanalysis. This, not even Pie (excuse my spelling, the typewriter becomes psychoanalytical!) can deny who writes: "Yet Clarkson is certainly [!] correct when he accuses Fromm of 'persistent [!] efforts to desexualize psychoanalysis'". And further Pie states that Fromm frees himself from a certain fetter "by eliminating all specific content (in particular all sexuality!) from [!] Freud's theories [!]"—Thus John's basic thesis stands solidly grounded, and if you, Paul, think that John, Pie (excuse me!), Marcuse and many etceteras are wrong, you must tell me *in full detail why*.

(b) The next thing we have to know is whether or not John finds the "social meaning" or, if you want, the *function* of anti-sex in Fromm's *desexualized* psychoanalysis. I have the pleasure to quote (without further excuses) John's opponent Pie who says: "Clarkson's critique of Fromm's views is based on what he calls Fromm's 'persistent efforts to desexualize' Freud's ideas. According to Clarkson, the present-day widespread 'sexual misery' reflects the deep-seated social crisis of our time. Thus the sexual question must be kept out of sight, and Fromm is only playing his part in preserving the *status quo* when he minimizes sexual factors."—Question: Does Pie or do you, Paul, *deny* that there is presently *widespread* "sexual misery" and that it *reflects* (among other things, for John at no point claims that sexual misery is the *only* reflex) the deep-seated *social* (observe the causal relation even in Pie's crude rendering) crisis of our time? Pie, at least, is not so foolish as to deny what needs no proof—he says not one word against it but confirms John's contention by presenting his hobby "Oedipus" which John, *not concerned with Freud's theories at all*, happily had ignored (his dealing with "incest" is something else, as we shall see). Pie writes:

... Freud discovered that small children have a sexual life which is centred [including very early masturbation?] about their parents. This is, of course [of course!], what has been so aptly named the Oedipus situation and which plays such a central rôle in Freud's theories [indeed!]. On the basis of the little boy's sexual [!] passion [no more, no less!] directed at his mother, and consequent hostility [of course!] for his father (and similar, but reversed, feelings on a

little girl's part), Freud was able [!] to construct a picture of the kind of human character [human character, no more, no less!] which can be expected to be developed by the patriarchal family in general, and the bourgeois family in particular. This achievement [!] (brilliantly anticipated in Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex* [hi hi!], Shakespeare's *Hamlet* [ha ha!], and Diderot's *Rameau's Nephew* [ho ho!]) must rank as one of the great triumphs [!] of the human intellect.

There you have the sexual villain, causing not only sexual *misery* but also sexual *disturbances* and *regularly crippling emotional effects* having their *origin* (because of the family) in *early childhood*. I leave Pie's wonderful pie for the moment and turn to Dutschler who also does *not* contradict John on *sexual misery*, but objects to the *exaggeration* of sex and of his own only remarks: "That there is a sex problem in modern society is a truism. But it is wrong to say, as Pye does, that the oedipal attraction constitutes the basis of that problem, or to conclude with Clarkson that because sex is a problem in modern society, it has always and everywhere necessarily been a problem". Conclusion: Nobody who wants to be taken seriously can deny the existing sexual *misery*, but Pie denies that John has found the "social meaning" of Fromm's attempts and asserts: "Clarkson fails utterly [!] to see the real point of Fromm's 'desexualized' psychoanalysis". But what is the *real* point in it? Towards the end Pie exclaims: "Now the real function of a 'desexualized' psychoanalysis becomes clear. It provides Fromm with an instrument which can be used to blur all distinctions, which can be made to seem to call for a new and 'sane' society, and yet really call for inaction". Can anybody tell me why this "real" point is more "real" than, or *different* from, John's point that "Fromm is only playing his part in preserving the *status quo* when he minimizes sexual factors"? The, so to speak, *real-real* point is that Pie renders John's points (not point) extremely crudely and that John shows how Fromm uses his "instrument" in *many respects* in order to preserve the *status quo*, precisely by blurring all distinctions and by calling for inaction. What has *utterly failed* here is Pie's thinking (though he is utterly "strong" in—syllogisms)—I give only one quotation from John's piece which demonstrates at the same time in how utterly crude (not to say utterly unfair) a manner Pie handles John:

For in the final stand, the "interpersonal relations" school is concerned to defend and to shore the prevailing forms and relations of western [!] culture up to and including existing property relations. These people understand full well that sexual privation is an integral and necessary element [!] of the general [!], inclusive privation that is enforced by physical and moral compulsion under capitalism's [!] artificially maintained economy of scarcity. Thus they minimize the rôle of sexual behavior. Sex becomes trivial. Or the problem is taken care of by the brazen assertion "that sexual repression has diminished to a remarkable degree", that a "sexual revolution" has virtually established "sexual freedom". Licence is not sexual freedom, but commonly the concomitant of restriction and frustration. The fact of widespread and aggravated sexual frustration in this [!] society is a palpable and insistent fact, however assiduously and ingeniously "social scientists" like Dr. Fromm may deny or attempt to disguise it. Studies are not required to prove, nor can they disprove [very

good!] the prevalent massive sex misery. It is a fact too intimately and recurrently felt in individual experience. It is only natural for the "social scientists", as defenders of the system, to make every effort to deny this fact, to suppress it from consciousness, or at least to minimize it. To the extent that they are realistic they will attempt to insulate this disturbing fact, that is to separate it from the cultural context in order to keep its political implications hidden as much as possible.

But hold, I have to quote more:

Returning to the special meaning that Dr. Fromm gives to *incest*: that it is a pathological inability to grow up, to abandon outworn situations of security that are secure no longer, to accept necessary change. Surely this is a drastic revision of established terminology. But going along, here, with Dr. Fromm, nevertheless, no better example of this sort of incestuous fixation could be found than that offered by Dr. Fromm, himself. For when the resolution of human ills, and, in fact, the very existence of humanity itself, depends upon speedy passage into a world economy of abundance, Dr. Fromm, on all practical issues, stands committed to the outworn scarcity system.

Dr. Fromm's masquerade as socialist should not mislead any reader whose memory extends as far as from one page to the next. *The Sane Society* takes capitalism to task in a manner that will afford vicarious release to "alienated" intellectuals. But it is mostly philosophical shadow-boxing [blur!] that does not reach the vitals of the system. In his own shrewd way Dr. Fromm is frequently the defender of what he appears to denounce. And his defense is the more insidious because it seems daringly critical to those who credulously interpret his generalized indictment in terms of their own concrete grievances. Thus Dr. Fromm gathers and seduces an audience, and then leads them off into a maze [blur!] of dualistic and ethical duplicity.

A fellow professor . . . has recently taken Dr. Fromm's measure neatly, but rather too politely. "This ambiguity makes the revisionist philosophy [of Dr. Fromm] appear to be critical where it is conformist, political where it is moralistic . . . This philosophy is achieved by directing criticism against surface phenomena, while accepting the basic premises of the criticized society. . . . The character of the revisionist philosophy shows forth in the assimilation of the positive and the negative, the promise and the betrayal. The affirmation absorbs the critique. The reader may be left with the conviction that the 'higher values' can and should be practised within the very conditions which betray them. . . ."

Result: John presents Fromm's "instrument" (*desexualized* psychoanalysis) in a far richer manner than Pie, and the second thing we had to know is decided in favor of John (there is much more in his article than I can quote).

(c) The next thing we have to know is whether or not John's article is based "foursquare upon Freudianism, operates on a theory of sexual determinism which has not the slenderest support anthropologically and stands contrary to ideas which you yourself [that's me] have strongly expressed on many occasions". Pie formulates this accusation as follows. He quotes Fromm's remark ("Guilt feelings make a person prone to submit to authorities which want to use and subdue him for their own ends") and then jumps off: "Clarkson calls this an 'acute insight', and proceeds to base [!] on it a social [!] theory which might be called 'sexual determinism'".

Well, well, that is another pie—I ask Pie and you in the words of

Pie: "What evidence" do you marshal in favor of this accusation? "Why, none whatsoever"! Instead of proving what he says, he turns to the question of "guilt feelings" and produces something I cannot spare you:

In fact, a little investigation of psychoanalytic case histories is enough to throw considerable doubt on the proposition [Fromm's statement connecting "guilt feelings" with submission to authority]. Sexual guilt can have the most various results, ranging from actual physical symptoms (this is the condition known as hysteria) through a whole spectrum of neurotic and psychotic conditions. On this [!] basis, how can one conclude that feelings of guilt will [!] lead [will lead instead of making a person "prone"] to submission to authority".

Indeed, on *that* basis we can only conclude that it has led to a formidable—syllogism. As if "guilt feelings" had to be always connected with hysteria or with whatever spectrum of neurotic and psychotic conditions (this, in "fact", is the case of a tiny minority only); as if hysteria and neurotic and psychotic conditions on the one, submission to authority on the other, side did *exclude* each other; as if guilt feelings which *have led* to submission could not be the *cause* of hysteria and neurotic and psychotic conditions. I know, in "fact", a number of persons, male and female, who are in rather serious neurotic and psychotic conditions and yet, in *fact*, *do submit* to authority, be it the state, the moral codex, the church or even—psychoanalysis. (Besides: Is it necessary to point out that guilt feelings have not to be "positive", i.e. have not to be the result of actually *having* done something which is "bad" or "forbidden"? By far the greater majority of people fear to *feel* guilty if they do forbidden things, and it is precisely this majority which submits to authority (not to do so would *make* them feel guilty) without becoming neurotic, etc.) Yes, it is a "great" syllogism to say: "If" that is the basis, then how can we conclude . . . ? That is Pie's procedure, and it has as much value as mathematical constructions concerning the "labor-theory of value", which "prove" nothing though they may be (I'm convinced) correct in themselves.

Yet it becomes still better—Pie continues:

Of course, there is another possibility. It might have turned out that the connection between sexual guilt and submission to authority would have proved to be so successful in explaining so much that had hitherto been mysterious, that we should have been compelled to accept it, at least as a working hypothesis. What then does Clarkson seek to explain with the aid of his hypothesis? [Observe the "answer"!]. In the first place, there is the simple [!] fact that men do "submit" to "authority". Clarkson is, in effect [!], claiming that this phenomenon has just not been understood before, and that his hypothesis clears the matter up. But as has long been perfectly clear, men submit to authority simply [!] because they are forced to do so.

Stop at the "simple" (in reality *complicated*) fact that men do submit to authority "simply" (in reality not "simply" at all) because they are forced to do so, and let's see what Clarkson *seeks* to explain with the aid of his hypothesis. It is this:

After pointing to Freud's finding that suppression of sex frequently

[not always] leads to neurosis, Dr. Fromm says: "But it seems that another effect of sexual taboos [!] is not less important: the development of intensive guilt feelings in every individual [and that is indeed necessary for the "functioning" of all taboos beginning with incest, which function, let it be said in anticipation, in many cases without a "police force"]. Since every normal human being has sexual strivings from childhood on, these very strivings must become an inexhaustible source of guilt feelings if they are stigmatized by the culture as evil [beginning with the stigmatization of incest as evil]. *Guilt feelings make a person prone to submit to authorities which want to use him for their own ends*". This is profoundly true.

Yes, this is profoundly true, and it is by no means accidental that I myself could—without so-called "proof", but also *without encountering any objection from anyone*—write:

Indeed: modern psychology, from whichever side one tackles it, reveals itself everywhere to be the most modern *ideological* attempt to anchor [!] anew, in a pseudo-scientific way, the "guilt consciousness" (original sin) of Christian society, which had been driven from all hiding places. Society cannot exist without this guilt consciousness [and that just because guilt feelings make a person prone to submission], because, together with the guilt-laden victim, the god of private property himself would fall, just as the rich together with the abolition of the poor. With totem and taboo; with Oedipus complex [indeed, dear Pie!] and biological facts of sex life, with individual [especially Alfred Adler and his school] and mass psychology and similar humbug is therefore the guilt consciousness of the individual, faded by the experience of millenia, transferred by psychological systems right into the—biological fatality. With the alleged psychological full consciousness, even those are again drawn into the circle of infatuation [*Verblendung*] who had at least partially raised themselves to self-consciousness [one of those who fall back into *Verblendung* is Pie with his Oedipus situation].

... modern psychology is only a very turbid treaty with society, which needs a continually renewed fixation of guilt as a *fundamental fact of the world* (this or that concrete guilt is a question apart).⁵

That may suffice—Pie, not satisfied with the obvious and asking for "evidence", goes on to "prove" that the problem of submission is "simple", i.e. that "men submit to authority simply because they are forced to do so". We are in for a pie of the first order—something which smells like the finest syllogism ever produced:

The birth of civilisation [!] in fertile river valleys thousands of years ago was the result of the availability for the first time of a social surplus. That is, the labor of the great mass of the populace produced not only enough for their own minimum subsistence, but also enough for at least a small minority to live under conditions of relative opulence. The surplus could be appropriated only [!] by coercion [and observe that this coercion is for Pie *exclusively* physical: the police!]. And so it was [by God: "so" it was!], at the dawn of history, that a special apparatus developed to maintain property relations, that is, to preserve the special position of the exploiting classes. This apparatus has been with us ever since, in one form or another. It is, of course [of course!] the State. And, the functioning of the State has always been inseparable from its police whose principal rôle has always been that of protecting property rights, that is of maintaining the inequalities which constitute [!] class society.

5. "The Ring of the Nibelung", by Wilhelm Lunen, *Contemporary Issues*, No. 19.

Why do men submit to this authority? Because they know that if they did not they would be jailed, enslaved, tortured, crucified, decapitated, poisoned, hanged, or shot—by the State. [That's a gruesome thing to experience, but I will be shot—by the State, if I have ever seen anything more gruesome than this kind of "materialistic" nonsense!] In fact [!] what really proves [!] the emptiness of Clarkson's contention is just the need to maintain this force. If [!] in order to make people submit, it sufficed [what a—distortion: neither Fromm nor John says that it "suffices"!] to make them feel guilty, why not dispense with a police force?

A classical Pie-syllogism: *If it suffices, why not? What really proves the emptiness (to be polite!) of this syllogism is its vice-versa version: If the police force sufficed (as Pie really contends) to make people submit, why not dispense with a church, press, propaganda, radio, school, mass-psychology, etc.; insofar, I mean, as they serve for intimidation, mental coercion, production of fear and guilt, lying, confusion, distortion and so on? What a "superior" childishness to believe that a police force of whatever size alone could enforce submission and could "simply" jail, enslave, torture, crucify (I shudder!), decapitate, poison, hang or shoot everybody who does not submit. Dear Pie: So many break the authority of the law (enforced by the State) and—get away with it even in Russia, even in Nazi Germany; others are caught and jailed and crucified, etc., in spite of the fact that they "knew" this would happen if they broke the law and fell into the hands of the police. The last time I stated that much more is needed in order to hold this society together was in the "Social Consciousness" where Pie could have read (and then gone against me if he disagreed):*

Press, church, school, radio, police (NKVD and FBI included) and all the rest [!] of a formidable apparatus would not [!] suffice to uphold bourgeois rule without that multicolored army of "authoritative" watchdogs in science, literature, philosophy and so on which is the true and decisive [!] maker of "public" opinion.

Why, then, *do* people submit to such authorities as the churches (to stay with one example)—authorities, that is, which they could at least in many respects defy without having to fear the intervention of the police? Pie, who also is "brilliant" in—history, answers with a "new" version of the well-known "violence" theory: In fertile river valleys there was long ago for the first time a social surplus which the great mass (!) of the populace produced (just like that!). The surplus could not be appropriated (for at least a small minority) *only be coercion*. And so it was, at the dawn of history, that a special apparatus developed to maintain (!) property relations (if I "coerce" Pie to give me his surplus product I have, according to him, to do with property relations, where I "simply" rob, and I have to maintain that nice property relation before it exists), that is, to preserve the special position of the exploiting (!) classes.

6. "The Problem of Social Consciousness in our Time", by Wilhelm Lunen. *Contemporary Issues*, No. 31.

And all this mess of undigested social surplus, appropriation, coercion (physical!), great mass of the populace, minority, special apparatus, property relations (plus maintaining them), special position of the exploiting classes—all this and the subsequent nonsense (such as inequalities *constituting* class society) at the *dawn* of history when nothing of it was “available”. Indeed, Pie offers us a, so to say, *violence* (and violent) explanation where a social one (and a real one) is available. As pointed out above: The first point is that physical coercion is not sufficient to hold civilized society together; the second point is that coercion (violence) explains *nothing*; and the third point is that the problem of “submission” begins not in the “fertile river valleys” but with *scarcity* where it existed (for it did not exist everywhere). Scarcity was and still is the problem for the immense *majority* of all the people on earth and the problem is what people could do to overcome it. Well, they had to develop the *productive forces*, and they had to do it, in the beginning, *collectively*—without property relations, special apparatus, great mass of populace and minority, appropriation, exploiting classes and all the rest which *could* not and *did* not exist. And what could primitive people do to develop the productive forces? For all we know (and quite sufficient for a social and rational explanation) they had to introduce the *incest taboo*, and that voluntarily, in the interest of *all* and not of a minority (the complications come later). I quote from Dutscher for this “most nearly universal and . . . most mystifying of sex regulations”:

The science of culture has . . . long ago given us an adequate explanation of incest prohibitions. . . .

[Primitive] man . . . is engaged in a struggle for existence. Co-operation, mutual aid, may become valuable means of carrying on this struggle at many points. . . . But a régime of co-operation confined to the members of a family would be correspondingly limited in its benefits. If co-operation is advantageous *within* family groups, why not *between* families . . . ? The problem was now to extend the scope of mutual [!] aid. . . . Co-operation between families cannot be established if parent marries child; and brother, sister. A way must [!] be found to overcome this centripetal tendency with a centrifugal force. This way was found in the definition and prohibition of incest. . . .

Remarkably enough, virtually the same strictly *social* explanation is given by Clarkson:

The incest taboo carries heavy emotional freight. The ancient and nearly universal incest prohibition seems naturally invested with revulsion and horror. That this powerful aversion is culturally [!] acquired may be explained easily, nor is any resort to theories of instinctive abhorrence required. While we shall never know the exact steps [very good!] by which the incest taboo [I am tempted to write: capitalism, slavery, etc.] arose in primeval culture, it is obvious how and why it came about. The incest prohibition would be an effective social [!] device for repressing sexuality in the service of economic [!] productivity, especially in primeval family groups. It is not necessary to attribute conscious design. A cultural mutant that proved superior for survival is sufficient explanation. But instead of accounting for incest rationally, Dr. Fromm goes about making a mystery more mysterious.

If I were out for fault-finding I would say that Clarkson should, in the present case, not have used the words "repressing sexuality" but *restricting* sexuality. But since he is otherwise precise enough (one has, "of course", to read him right), I ignore, disdain to consider, overlook such "faults" and state that Clarkson has really (what Pie denies without *disproving* Clarkson) given some—*evidence* that *guilt feelings* make a person *prone* to submit to authorities (whether they want to use and subdue him for their *own* ends plays no rôle here because "own" ends with a *bad* connotation enter *later* into the social development). The point is that with the *prohibition* of incest *guilt feeling* was also introduced (in the positive and negative sense), and people had to *submit* to that prohibition in order *not* to become guilty and *not* to be *punished*. Thus was sex guilt established as *social* guilt, and because all other guilt complexes develop out of the incest taboo, John is quite right in saying that all guilt is, *at the root*, sex guilt.

But the explanation of the incest taboo is not all that John brings forward in favor of his (and Fromm's, and Freud's, and . . .) insight that guilt feelings (in general) make a person prone to submit to authorities which (later) want to use and subdue him for their own ends (John remarks rightly in a footnote: "The recognition of the social [!] function of guilt anxiety in enforcing submission is an insight acquired from Freud, who did not, however, penetrate very far into the specific psychosomatic process"). He explains:

After pointing to Freud's finding that suppression of sex frequently [you see: not always!] leads to neurosis, Dr. Fromm says: "But it seems that another effect of sexual taboos is not less important: the development of intense guilt feelings in every individual. Since every normal human being has sexual strivings from childhood on, these very strivings must become an inexhaustible source of guilt feelings if they are stigmatized by the culture as evil. Guilt feelings make a person prone to submit to authorities . . . [etc.]. This is profoundly true. Dr. Fromm's concluding statement, here, that "maturity and happiness conflict with the existence of an all pervasive sense of guilt" is also quite correct, except that guilt to be effectively pathogenic by no means has to be "all pervasive".

A little further on, Clarkson writes:

But now to revert to Dr. Fromm's formulation that cultural stigmatization of normal sexual strivings induces guilt feelings that "make a person prone to submit to authorities which want to subdue him for their own ends". This is an acute insight and the formulation is accurate so far as it goes [!]. It is important to grasp this insight for it clears up a troublesome mystery, namely, the heretofore unexplained stigmatization of sex and sexual satisfaction by most [!] cultures at a certain stage [!] of economic development. So universal a development could not have been accidental. And it only becomes understandable as an indispensable social [!] invention where conditions of material scarcity necessitated compulsive inducement to labor and the subordination of one segment of society to another [which is, you see, a fairly *late*—stage of development]. Thus would be explained why the denigration of sex generally increased [!] in the degree that advancing [!] production required ever greater exactions of labor and renunciation from the laboring masses, and likewise ever

greater devotion to business and duty from those who direct the productive process [which is the case under *capitalism*!].

This if by far not all—I have to interrupt the investigation and to plant a piece of Pie under your eyes:

But, asks Clarkson, what of the “hitherto unexplained stigmatization of sex and sexual satisfaction as bad by most cultures at a certain stage of economic development. . .” This “stigmatization” is hitherto unexplained because it does not exist.

Bumms . . . it “simply” *does not exist*! “Proof”:

The ancient world was virtually free of stigmatization of sex as such [!] as can be seen by examining the folklore and literature of the time. For the idea that sex itself [!] is evil and at best (under marriage) tolerable, we are indebted to Christianity, which came on the scene only after people had been submitting to authority for thousands of years.

The use of “symbolic” logic yields quick results—the “syllogism” runs as follows: Since the ancient world was virtually free of stigmatization of sex as such; and since stigmatization of sex itself *was introduced by Christianity* (after people had long submitted to authority)—stigmatization of sex as such *does not exist* or (still better) the *long existing* stigmatization of sex as such is hitherto unexplained only because it *does not exist*. What an achievement of “symbolic” thinking—no wonder, then, that everything which Pie touches *remains unexplained*. Well, I will explain for him: Though in the ancient world people submitted to authorities *also* in respect to sex *restrictions* and sex *regulations*—the ancient world had nevertheless not yet reached that *certain stage of economic* development of which John speaks and in which the stigmatization of sex as such was of great use for our authorities. First one has to learn the art of reading, and secondly one has to be a loyal reader. John, for example, points to “orthodox Jewish and early Catholic codes, the former having forbidden nude [!] coitus for some 2,000 years, the latter having held any coital position ‘except the prone position with the male above as a matter for confession and in the days when the church authority was backed by the civil administration, as a matter for punishment’”. Instead of telling John what Christianity did (which John knows and knows infinitely better than Pie), Pie should have reflected on “Jewish codes” and then have told himself: Stigmatization of sex as such did not come out of the blue sky but had been in many ways prepared by stigmatization of certain *forms* of sexuality (*nude coitus*, for example), certain *activities* (all deviations) as *bad* and therefore forbidden. Instead of reflecting on anything he triumphantly continues:

Of course, to say that sex was not characterized as evil is not to say that sexual freedom, or anything like it, prevailed.

And by what is this lack of sexual freedom, or *anything like it*, for its part characterized? Ha, I have never laughed so much as tomorrow evening:

With the development of private property, women themselves be-

came property. [Just like that and without the slightest concern for a lot of restrictions even in the framework of private property. But hold on to your seat for now the "real"—proof follows that not anything like sexual freedom prevailed]: A poor man was prevented [by the police, "of course"!] from enjoying the [hold on!] king's concubines just as he was prevented from eating at the king's table, drinking the king's wine or living in the king's palace. This was not because eating good food, drinking fine wine, living in palaces, or copulating with concubines was thought to be wicked, but only because the articles in question were the king's property and hence were for the king's exclusive use.

This is the most grandiloquent "syllogism" I ever saw (yes, ma'am, I knows that!)—the king size of a cigarette called "king" which yields an especially heavy smoke, namely the smoke of heavy thinkers! I must state the amazing fact that sexual freedom does, for Pie, *not exist*, when a poor man (and it has to be a "poor" one, "of course"!) is prevented from enjoying the king's (for there are from the outset only "kings" who have such private property as concubines!) concubines. Let's lament no end about the great time before there were kings and everybody had the "freedom" to enjoy each others' concubines from morning to morning. Oh, what a saddening morning, oh, what a saddening day, when the king lived in the king's palace, had good food, fine wine and concubines (always plural!), saying to the *poor* man: Don't dare to touch anything or—I call the police! We must conclude: To everybody *not poor* he said: Go straight ahead (*sempre diritto*), I'm only too glad and prepare the bed for you! We must further conclude that the king enjoyed the concubines of poor and rich men alike (why should only the "king" have concubines?) and that private property is a damned thing. But we have one true consolation: The poor man got nothing not because eating good food, drinking fine wine, living in palaces, or copulating with concubines was thought to be wicked, but only (!) because the articles in question were the king's property and (this is brilliant logic!) hence were for the king's exclusive use.

My God, as if private property had always to be connected with *exclusive* use! Although the "king" may be particular concerning the "article" concubine—he may nevertheless (and many kings have in fact invited) invite poor and rich people to his table to eat *his* good food and drink *his* fine wine. And there are, after all, not only kings in the world. My money is *my* property, too, but I may use it for the pleasure of others, namely invite them to dinner, give money to beggars, etc., etc. Use and *exclusive* use are different—that's all. And then: It says nothing against John's function of guilt feelings if copulating with the concubines itself is not thought to be wicked (unfortunately for Pie it often was and still is!)—it suffices for John's contention that copulating with the concubines of *other* people is thought to be wicked. Thou shalt not want the wife of thy neighbor is an old restricting command, and it has produced immense guilt feelings both positive and negative, always leading to submission to authorities like the State, the church or (at the end) even the husband. Indeed, the submission to the authority of private property

is so extensive that infidelity not only results in innumerable separations and divorces (how important it is in most cases not to be the "guilty" party!) but also to the abominable *threat of divorce as a means of coercion* on the part of husbands who had, in the hope that it might turn out to their advantage, concluded a pact of "free hand" with their wives. (I have to discuss this point with you when I come to your article on Kinsey).⁷ Finally: If the *problem* of sexual freedom consisted in copulating with the king's concubines or, for that matter, with the concubines of other men, then the most ideal sexual freedom could still prevail, provided that all men and all—concubines and wives have the right to *dissolve* their sexual relation when it no longer satisfies them. Crude men have crude senses and, first, put good food and—concubines on the same level. They have, secondly, not the slightest idea that in a sane society there will be far more private (namely *individual*) property and far more durable sexual relations (*individual* ones) than in all past history together. What has to be abolished is the private ownership of the *means of production*, while individual property on the one, individual love on the other side, will be *restored* on an infinitely higher level. In any case, as already indicated: Sexual freedom consists in the freedom of sex from stigmatization and all *unnecessary* restrictions, and further in the freedom of sex relations from all economic motives and all social coercion. It does not consist in copulating "just like that" with the king's concubines—Pie can be prepared that perhaps not ten women will accept him as a partner in his whole lifetime, while complete sexual freedom exists. And anybody who is not an extremely crude and vulgar "materialist" can predict: There will be tragedy *just on the ground of sexual freedom*, true, *human* tragedy of individual love instead of, as in nearly all cases today, tragedy determined or at least largely influenced by *social* factors. It is even necessary to point out against John (in his letter to me): The *roots* of jealousy are *not* in exploitation—economics and exploitation *dominate* men and jealousy today in general, but they don't *create* or are *not the cause* of either one "as such". Jealousy is a far deeper phenomenon and has (if freed from its present ugly manifestations) to do with the striving of matter for balance (see "Jacques").⁸

All in all: Pie offers nothing but a tremendous b-l-l-s-h-t in order to "refute" what is obvious. John remains victorious and has uttered so far not *one word* which could give Pie (and you) the remotest right to assert that he "proceeds to base on it [Fromm's 'acute insight'] a social theory which might be called 'sexual determinism'" or, as you put it, that his piece "is based foursquare upon Freudianism" and "operates on a theory of sexual determinism". To make that clear I have inserted in all places where the question of "determinism" could be raised exclamation marks (though not only

7. = Ecker, *op. cit.*

8. Lunen, *op. cit.*

in such places) and remarks which emphasize what is for John the "determinant", namely political economy, not sex.

(d) I wanted to write a short letter and write a very long one. Well, before I disprove sexual determinism for the rest of John's article, I have to say something which must guide you in the evaluating of what follows. First: I have previously stated that John, in his article, is *not concerned with Freud's theories at all*. He is concerned with the *desexualization* of psychoanalysis and endeavors to find out what is behind this drive. Instead of being occupied with Freud's *theories* or basing himself upon *Freudianism*, he is insisting upon the correctness of certain *findings* or *discoveries* of Freud pertaining to sex—findings which in themselves do not constitute a theory but are "simple" *facts*. Second: Even if John were interested in or had defended certain *theories* of Freud—why does that constitute for you a crime *per se*? Is there anyone who will declare that *all* of Freud's theories (let alone findings and discoveries on which he *based* his theories) are wrong or forbidden fruit? In order to show you that I myself have nothing to do with such an absurdity and that I am (contrary to your assertion) not a witness *against* John but, like him himself in his article, uninterested in discussing psychoanalysis proper (which I consider to be as fruitless as—academic history and economy), I will quote the essential of my position. Years ago I wrote to Karl E. Karl had told me in a letter that he wanted to write about Freud. I was (though he had a healthy approach) by no means enthusiastic about it, but being convinced that his article would never be written, I was a little "hypocritical" in my answer, encouraged him to go ahead (at the same occasion destroying some points he had advanced in his letter) and then wrote:

And here a word about the "anti-psychology boys".

The fact that I myself am an "anti-Freudian" has in the case of some friends at least led to the impression that I am an anti-psychologist. May I simply state that I have nothing to do with that impression, even if I say that psychology (namely *individual* psychology) is absolutely sterile or useless or directly misleading in *politics*. No, psychology has its rights as has any other science, for example medicine, and the real [!] "center of my hostility" towards psychoanalysis [!] is the attempt to enlarge it into the field of *sociology*, where it is, in my opinion, nothing other than another form of *bourgeois ideology*.

Because psychoanalysis as *sociology* is the real enemy, I have never written, as Pie with much *chutzpe* asserts, that the *work* of Freud is rubbish. What I have in the "Consciousness" article written is this:

A hundred years of war against Marx have nearly obscured the fact that his work (above all *Capital*) contains the whole skeleton and all the necessary basic material for a *social* (political) [Pie generously omits the word in parenthesis which makes it easier for him to produce his b-lsh-t about Lunen] psychology compared to which

"sciences" like mass psychology, Freudian sociology [!!!] or *wissensoziologie* (Sociology of Knowledge) are but a heap of eclectic rubbish, regardless whether their representatives are Le Bon, Fromm, Mannheim, Reich or Freud himself.⁹

Third: There is apparently a lot of confusion concerning "determinism", reminiscent of the vulgar error concerning "materialism". The mechanism of the confusion is that matter and spirit in the one, political economy and sex in the other case are treated as *absolute* opposites: Either the one or the other, but not both! In reality it is only the question which factor has *priority* (matter or mind, sociology or psychology or sex) that divides the fighting camps. The materialist, "of course", decides that matter and the material conditions have *priority* in relation to mind (spirit) and psychology (sex). But many overlook or don't understand that as soon as this basic question is decided, the opposites become *relative*: mind and sex (to rest with them) become not independent but *co-determining* factors with a relative life of their own (interplay). John understands this well and gives, as you will see, *everywhere* priority to our social existence. As for sexual determinism where it really exists: It exists in Pie who asserts that *Freud was able to construct a picture of the kind of human character which can be expected to be developed* (the whole sentence is quite something!) *by the patriarchal family in general, and the bourgeois family in particular.* And on what basis was Freud able to construct what "must rank as one of the great triumphs [indeed!] of the human intellect"? Simply: "On the basis [!] of the little boy's sexual passion [which is a very solid and pleasant—basis!] directed at his mother, and consequent hostility for his father" (and vice versa for the little girl). Proving absolutely nothing against Clarkson, he nevertheless declares with the now self-evident and consequent hostility for his father: "Our criticism of Clarkson was in part [which part?] based on the fact [which fact?] that he too looked for 'psychological explanation' where a social one was already available". On the other side he is able to write: "It is the atomization of knowledge in our time [hm!] which permits a man (such as Freud or Einstein or others who could be named) to produce works of genius in his own domain while he shows himself to be ignorant of even the fundamentals as soon as he leaves it". Though Pie doesn't tell of *which* fundamentals the man in question is ignorant (as the sentence stands it must be the fundamentals of his own domain); and though Pie doesn't very exactly reproduce what I myself have written—it can pass. The only trouble is that any intelligent reader will notice: Pie himself is such a works of genius producing man—otherwise he would not have accused Clarkson of sexual determinism and not have written such b-l-lsh-t.

(e) It was for me a real pleasure to see how John goes about his business and how wisely he handles—History. Now let's see together:

Why does Dr. Fromm think it so important to discover the exact "degree of genuine happiness or unhappiness in our culture", which he claims is now "anybody's guess"? His own reply is that "it is this very knowledge which can answer the question whether our institutions fulfill the purpose they are devised for: the greatest happiness of the greatest number". First . . . this is an odd statement to fall

from the lips of a socialist, even from a "Humanistic Communitarian Socialist". Over the years the mantle of Marx has proved to be very elastic, and many are the strange constructions over which it has been stretched [indeed, indeed! also constructions in relation to sex!], but few stranger than this assertion that the institutions of capitalist society "are devised" "to fulfill" "the greatest happiness of the greatest number. . . ."

Be that as it may, and regardless of the peculiarities of Dr. Fromm's formulation, there is admittedly direct connection between the level of happiness prevailing in a given society and the stability of its institutions. Social [!] institutions [plural! not sex "institutions" alone!] are the structured means whereby the masses are habituated to misery and bound in patterns of recurrent frustration. These repressive structures are threatened and likewise the entire social fabric trembles on occasion when the curve of social misery dips suddenly and steeply, or when for various reasons a new or sharpened awareness of customary abnegations penetrates public consciousness.

It is thus important for "social dynamics" to utilize whatever means it may to prevent awareness of the repressive rôle of social institutions from breaking through into public consciousness. [And this is so because the "police" can do nothing about it!] It is in this connection that the "problem of sex and happiness" becomes urgent for "social scientists" like Dr. Fromm.

Hardly anyone can do better and—John sees the "real" point of Fromm's *desexualized* psychoanalysis in an immensely richer manner than Pie. It is, further, already at this point time to disagree with Dutscher who says: "For, in point of fact [!], he [Clarkson] has succumbed to the exaggerated ideology of sex". This is certainly not true—true is only that John, dealing with the desexualization of psychoanalysis, had mainly to deal with—*desexualization* of psychoanalysis, i.e. had to stick to his theme and emphasize where Fromm minimized, etc. Discover for me in all the foregoing one grain of exaggeration or "ideology" and then follow me carefully through the rest in order to discover the grain there—also in vain.

(f) John poses the question:

Does Dr. Fromm openly state that marriages can be happy, wholesome, or even tolerable which fail to yield sexual satisfaction? Or does he seek to avoid ambiguity by making any clear assertion to the contrary? Characteristically, Dr. Fromm confuses and evades the issue.

And then it comes:

Meaningless arguments as to whether "sexual satisfaction [is] the *paramount* condition for happiness", or whether "marital happiness is based *primarily* on sexual satisfaction" [emphasis added by John] are diversionary and misleading [excellent!]. Certainly [!] there is more [!] to happiness in marriage and [!] in life than sexual satisfaction. But let no one be deceived by semantic manipulations of this obvious truism into thinking that the factor of sexual satisfaction is incidental, trivial, or to be brushed aside or otherwise dispensed with. Admittedly, sex is not [!] everything, but it does not follow that sex is nothing or practically nothing. The simple straightforward fact is that there are *several necessary conditions* for marital happiness, one [!] of which is sexual satisfaction. It is precisely this fact of being necessary and indispensable, no more [!], no less, that Dr. Fromm is at pains to obscure.

Well, still no trace of exaggeration and—sexual determinism!

(g)

As has been noted, Dr. Fromm designates by "social character" the cultural common denominator of a society as distinguished from particular individual differences, and possibly special class differences, also. This is a useful distinction. Beneath the seemingly random proliferation of personal and class differences in modern European culture, there is a common core of behavior anchored and perpetuated in institutionalized family relations. While the social character does not determine individual character in an absolute sense [very good!], it heavily conditions it, and it does, in most cases, set strict limits upon individual expression and development.

Dr. Fromm in choosing to consider the "dynamic" relationships between "sex and character" takes pains to align himself with H. S. Sullivan, and against views attributed to Freud. "Interpersonal relationships, assumed by Freud to be the result of varying forms of sexual desire, are considered [by Fromm and Sullivan] to be the factors determining sexual strivings. In this view it is not sexual behavior that determines character, but character that determines sexual behavior". Dr. Fromm's dictum that it is character—a priori given datum—that determines sexual behavior apparently applies to individual characters, that is, personalities. That he is not referring in this context to the "social character" is apparent from his summation on the following page: "In our view sexual behavior is not the cause but the effect of a person's character structure".

But whence that prior and private individual possession, "a person's character structure"? Dr. Fromm is silent, here, about the rôle of the "social character". Nor does he analyse the complex "interaction" [!] whereby the social character sets conditions [!] for the interplay of personalities, that is individual characters, and at the same time is itself changed, however slightly, in the process. In his section on "The Social Character" in *The Sane Society*, Dr. Fromm makes it clear that he holds that particular individual characters are determined, that is "shaped" to an important degree, by the social character, that "nucleus of the character structure which is shared by most members of the same culture". Actually it is so that in the western world there is a nucleus of common character anchored in compulsive marriage and the possessive family that does to a large extent determine [!] individual sex behavior. Also, it is just as true on the obverse that it is a particular quality of individual sex behavior that supports and perpetuates these institutionalised relations, or if you choose, the social character. It is these concrete, dynamic, mutually supporting [!] relationships that Dr. Fromm, and likewise the entire "interpersonal relations" school, strive to distort and obscure.

Well, still no trace of exaggeration, sexual determinism and—keep an eye on that—Freudianism.

(h)

Marriage, far from being limited to a simple sexual relationship, is rather a complex of social [!] relationships. It is a truism that marriage is an economic [!] relationship. In addition, in this society, as in most, marriage is normally a child-beggetting and a child-rearing relationship. . . .

Under capitalism the marriage relationship is identified with the family relationship, and the family is, above all, an economic arrangement. The family produces human beings, that is to say it is the source of human material required for production. Further, it educates and disciplines the productive working force. "The production of human beings", far from being accomplished by the physiological process of procreation, only begins with parturition. The production of human beings structured to fulfill their respective rôles on either

side of the great class divide in capitalist society is a long process of education and discipline. Dr. Fromm is well aware of this, and has stated that the family "may be considered to be the *psychic agency of society*, the institution which has the function of transmitting the requirements of society to the growing child". This is only a partial statement. In actuality the disciplinary function of the family bears with equal severity on adults, as well. Thus, not only does the family begin in infancy to mold and to consolidate the "social character", to use Dr. Fromm's phrase, but throughout life it supports and enforces the "social character".

Beneath the class dichotomy of capitalism the roots of the "social character" are identical for the exploiters and the exploited. The basic required traits are submission to authority, resignation to duty, deferment of satisfaction, renunciation of desire, conformity and obedience. For different classes the expression of these identical traits of the "social character" assumes a different content. But the repressive essence is the same. If the worker is driven by his boss, the boss is frequently driven even harder by his Duty. A system that has not freed itself from the limitations of material scarcity cannot permit freedom to anyone living under it, and enforces its slavery upon high and low alike, though in varying kind and degree.

So long as the problem of scarcity remains unsolved, so long must men labor painfully to satisfy their material needs; yet not producing a sufficiency for all, so long must society employ compulsion of one kind or another [you see: not only "sexual" compulsion]. The success of capitalism in its ascendant period, meaning the prodigious expansion of the productive capacity of society in the 19th century, bespeaks the effectiveness of its methods and devices [plural, you see!] of compulsion.

Well, well, still no trace . . . !

(i)

The industrial revolution and the rise of capitalism are identified in popular thinking with the inventions of engines and machines and the expansion of a power technology based upon coal and iron. Less appreciation is to be found for the cultural mechanisms [plural, you see!] developed to harness the psychic energy of human passion and affections in the service of commodity production. Nor is it fully appreciated why the apogee of hypocrisy and repression in manners and morals occurred in Victorian England coincident with the final flowering of capitalism in the leading capitalist nation in the world.

The first crude, tentative ventures at social organization seem to have been in substantial part attempts to control erotic feelings [as we have seen with incest] and to confine them within forms of expression consistent with the needs of the prevailing economy. [Fault finding: The formulation is a little loose, for the *first* crude attempts to control erotic feelings—which were at that stage hardly *erotic* feelings but rather feelings connected with an old *custom* which had to be given up—were in the interest of increasing *production* and not of the "prevailing *economy*" which did not yet exist—economy comes anyhow much later.] No human societies have been discovered lacking some sort of institutionalized marriage and family relationships in which economic [here the word is in place] and sexual activity were mingled, with consequent restrictions [not *stigmatization of sex as such*, dear Pie!] upon the latter. Thus it appears that restriction upon the sexual appetite was an invariable element [this word "*element*" is important, as we will see later!] in the rise of civilisation, that is to say in the gradual progress [!] of human mastery of the material conditions of life.

How sexual repression operates to economic advantage in particular productive systems under scarcity is a complex function that is at once

involved and obscure. An adequate historical analysis remains to be worked out. A comprehensive explanation for advanced [!] cultures promises great difficulty. To begin with the subject is taboo. This is a dark corner into which few contemporary social scientists have any intention of shining their flashlights. Yet there are indications available—and some of long standing—as to how sexual privation works, in general [!], to make humans servile, tractable and exploitable, or compulsive to duty. The facts are scattered through a thousand works leading back from Kinsey. The basis for integrating and interpreting these facts is already laid in Engels and Freud. Actually, the economic [!] function of sex repression is well understood by many social scientists who take care, however, not to publicize this insight.

Dr. Fromm, for one, betrays a clear comprehension of the reactionary effects of social [!] restrictions on sex. . . . In opening a discussion of "ethical implications of sexual behavior", Dr. Fromm observes that "for centuries sexuality had been stigmatised as morally bad. . . . Every sexual activity which was not for the purpose of procreation, and particularly all sexual deviations, were considered to be morally evil". Why is this so? Because, so far as we can capture any direct answer in Dr. Fromm's elusive generalities, "man's flesh was a source of corruption and that only by suppressing instinctual demands could goodness be achieved". This is no explanation, but of itself calls for elucidation. Instead of a sensible reason we are given an analogy between moral badness and the disintegration of the body after death.

John then elucidates this point in context with Fromm's "acute insight" (see this letter, page 113)—yet we find still no trace of anything like . . . (well, you know!). Social restrictions on and repression of sex are introduced as a co-determining *element*, but social organization, economic advantage, remains the commander.

(i)

An hypothesis of economic [!] utility of sex-guilt under conditions of scarcity would explain much more than previously has been obscure or inexplicable [also to Pie!]. . . . Why is it that religious superstition and practice is so invariably identified with the regulation [!] of sexual expression in cultures developed [!] under the pinch of scarcity? The answer is simple. Religion works both as a mechanism for inducing sex-guilt and as a mechanism for controlling it. Religion induces a perpetual state of sinful anxiety [in general] and at the same time provides for draining off the harmful excess of this emotive force, that is, what is over and above the amount required to make submissive workers and dutiful masters.

At this point comes in another piece of pie. After having refreshed us with the king's concubines, Pie poses as victor and continues:

Thus, we have seen that Clarkson uses his sexual hypothesis [instead of hypothesis of *economic utility* of sex-guilt!] to explain what is really explicable on purely socio-economic grounds [namely the police and concubines!] and to explain what was "hitherto unexplained" because false. Clarkson continues with an analysis of religion in the light of his hypothesis. "Why", queries Clarkson, "is it that religious superstition and practice is so invariably identified with the regulation of sexual expression in cultures developed under the pinch of scarcity?"

Ha, do you know why? No? Then read Pie:

Religions have always served the social rôle of ritualizing the "rules" of society. Thus, religious codes set forth not only rules of

sexual conduct, but rules governing property (Thou shalt not steal!) [especially not the king's concubines!], rules governing conduct in war [yes: Thou shalt not kill!], etc. Religion is no more [simply *no more!*] associated with the *regulation* of sexual expression than with the other fundamental aspects of life. In particular, as has already been remarked, the rôle of religion in stigmatizing sex, is a special product of Christianity. [The rôle as a *special product* is not bad, but truly fine is it that because of this "rôle" stigmatization of sex as such *does not exist!*] Actually religions, particularly in the ancient world, have promulgated the most diverse views on sexual matters. There have been orgiastic religions and religions putting a premium on chastity. There have been vestal virgins and whore priestesses. Clarkson's analysis of religion is no more successful than his analysis of why there is submission to authority.

In other words: John poses the question of why it is that religious superstition and practice is so invariably *identified* with the regulation of sexual expression . . . and Pie believes that he *answers* that *question* when he retorts with baby-stories about "always served", *thou shalt not steal* (which rule of society, I take it, has been—ritualized!), and a *special product*. And so proud is he of his "answer" that he tells more baby-stories about *most diverse views on sexual matters*, namely *orgiastic* and *chastity* religions, *vestal virgins* and *whore priestesses*. Unfortunately for Pie: All these religions, virgins and whores are most monotonous in one essential point—they have all to do with (and that is John's point) the *regulation* of sexual expression. John, instead of telling baby-stories, gives the *explanation* for these so-called "most diverse views on sexual matters": "Religion works both as a mechanism for inducing sex guilt and as a mechanism for controlling it" (and it is for the sake of *control* that especially the—whores come in). As if John had anticipated his Pie, he goes on to state:

Religion makes men ever conscious of their sin but periodically believes [!] their accumulated guilt. [Has Pie ever reflected about the function of carnival?] Because men are purged of their anxiety every seventh day, they are able to work on the other six. Religion turns out to be an economy of sin, that is guilt, and at the root [!], sex guilt. That is why in popular thinking [!]*—*which in this case, as in others, hits the truth closer than some sophisticated rationalizations [ah, bravo!]*—*sin is identified, if not equated, with sex.

Even if *you* could disagree with this—there is still no trace of. . .

(k) John continues:

Also accounted for is another observation of Dr. Fromm's, thrown out for his own purposes without reasonable explanation. "The stigmatization of sex [though it does, of "course", not exist!] had another most undesirable result—ethics was narrowed down to the small area of sexual behavior, and thus the really significant ethical problems in human behavior were veiled." Ethics was narrowed down thus, because the prevailing conditions [!] of production [!] demanded it. Further, as one who claims to be a socialist should know, any broad, effective solution to "significant", that is to say, fundamental, ethical problems is excluded in economics [!] of scarcity.

If the leadings of the hypothesis of the economic [!] utility of sex-guilt are followed, much becomes simple and clear concerning the

origin and progress of psychoanalysis, much that seems to escape Dr. Fromm. . . .

Freud, as the consistent child of nineteenth-century materialism, was by intellectual conviction an atheist, and recognised the illusory nature of religious belief. In his later years he grasped to a considerable extent religion's social [!] function for controlling anxiety [!]. Thus Freud foresaw the persistence of religious illusions in spite of their irrationality. [Fault finding: Marx and Engels foresaw that before Freud and insisted that the false reflex cannot disappear in a society that is dominated by commodity relations.] To some extent he realized that his own invention, psychoanalysis, was called forth [!] by the partial failure of capitalism's religious mechanism, and that psychoanalysis from the first was a substitute [!] for religion. Possibly in his early inventive years when he devised the basis of classic psychoanalytic technique, he worked largely unconsciously and mostly unaware of the social [!] need and contradictions that were working through [!] him. Certainly the growing concern of his later years with the broader social questions was an expression of his deepening appreciation of the social rôle that psychoanalysis would come to play. Freud's rationalizations [!] were kept on a relatively high plane. It is a surety that Freud never clearly foresaw the extent of the debasement of accommodation to the general retrogression of a putrescent capitalism that would come at the hands of a revisionist priesthood. . . .

Dr. Fromm states that "Freud pointed to the fact that the suppression of sex frequently led to the development of neurosis". Actually [!] Freud categorically asserted innumerable times his [!] theory of a basic [!] and invariant [!] sexual etiology of neurosis. It is well known how Freud was compelled by the empirical findings of his early practice to recognize the sexual factor . . . "Freud did not enter that realm voluntarily, but was forced by the natural course of events into taking account of the sexual factor". "The natural course of events" was mainly, to be sure, the symptoms of his patients.

To change the tune: If that is Freudianism, sexual determinism or exaggeration of sex, then are you, dear Paul, a Blackfoot Indian. Specialists can, "of course", argue with *Freud*, about his "basic and invariant sexual etiology of neurosis" (I myself decline to be mixed up with such questions), but not even Freud himself is here a "sexual determinist" when he insists on the sexual etiology of *neurosis*.

(1) What now follows stands once more in the shadow of Pie.

It is of greatest significance to understand why Freud's patients, particularly at the beginning, were predominantly of upper-class origin, and mainly upper-class women. That only persons of means, not to say wealth, could afford analytic treatment is not sufficient [!] reason. This is no reason why persons, and the particular class of persons involved, should require treatment [!] and should be impelled to make the substantial expenditure of money and effort required for analysis. No, this reason will not suffice, and it is necessary to go much deeper.

Long before John has finished, mighty Pie steps in:

Clarkson's final, and most fanciful, application of his hypothesis is to the development of psychoanalysis.

He then quotes the above paragraph and comments:

Here, once again [???] Clarkson searches for a deep explanation where a simple one [indeed!] is available. In this case, he presents the simpler explanation himself and rejects it. [And rightly so, because it is—*too* simple!] That only the wealthy could afford psychoanalysis "is not sufficient reason". But why not? [Observe the procedure of symbolic logic: Instead of looking into John's "why not", he parades his vulgar "materialism" and evades the question:] An hysterical upper-class woman, in being referred from specialist to specialist, might eventually find herself in Freud's office [indeed!]. An hysterical servant girl would go to the clinic and be given some pain killer [and that is not "sufficient" for an upper-class woman, because she doesn't read Pie!]. All one needs for comprehension of the total insulation of Freud's own world from the poorer classes [which begin, apparently, with servant-girls!] is to read some of his references . . . to the servant classes [as if the *insulation* of Freud's own world from the poorer classes were the problem posed by Clarkson!]. Why mainly women? Because most of Freud's early patients were hysterics and most hysterics are women. . . . Once again [???], Clarkson's constructions collapse, virtually of their own weight.

And that *New York Post*-trash without telling us what these "constructions" are. I get the impression that Pie has acquired an "Occam-complex" since the day I introduced Occam's principle into the argumentation against Fromm, though this complex does not protect him from violating Occam's principle with his—Oedipus situation. In any case: he sees that people with money can buy the merchandise, and that is (quite "logical") "sufficient reason" why persons, *and the particular class of persons involved*, would require treatment, etc. Occam's principle in his back, he says: Why, my money-reason is a "simple" one, and therefore the adequate one. But it so happens that, first, Pie's "explanation" is a *vulgar* one (indeed: "available" even for the last idiot in the world!), and that, second, what is involved in Occam's principle are not "simple" *explanations* but the *simplicity of—explanation*. (Besides: Pie renders Occam's principle as meaning: "Hypotheses [!] must not be multiplied unnecessarily". Well, I'm not too much informed what is going on—in detail, I mean—in American higher education, but we poor Europeans render the principle in question as follows: *Principles [!] of explanation* must not be multiplied unnecessarily. And what is especially amusing is the conclusion to which we, given the context, are fully entitled: Since the "simple" money-explanation is available, money is, for Pie, an *hypothesis*! Long live the fruits of—symbolic logic!) Let's now see how John, knowing that money explains as much as the police force and the concubines, goes about his business, and that *directly after* the above quotation. He explains:

We must now examine the psychosomatic mechanism whereby sex-guilt supports [!] an economy of scarcity. The biophysical aspect of sexual suppression is still obscure. Precisely how and why postponement of gratification and its denial in general produces and maintains a submissive character requires extensive research. That interference of the sexual function *starting in infancy and continuing throughout life* [emphasis added] has this effect there can be no doubt [right!]. Such resulting character traits [namely in the given case!] as submission to authority, resignation to hardship and painful experience

generally, compulsive adherence to duty, and the like, are accompanied invariably by anxiety in some form or degree and frequently [!] by other specific neurotic symptoms. Unless anxiety expressed as guilt feelings or consciousness of sin as well as related neurotic symptoms can be controlled, that it, alleviated and kept within due bounds, they prevent effective participation in production [that is right and it is here that Pie could, though not as crudely as he does, call upon his whores, virgins, orgiastic and chastity religions!]. In that case the cultural [!] gain from the sex-denial-guilt mechanism would be lost [damn right!]. This is prevented in two ways. We have seen how religion at the same time as it cultivates a sense of sin, also periodically prunes this morbid growth to keep it within manageable bounds. But there is another specific against anxiety. That is compulsive work. Work is often a symptom that to some extent functions as its own therapy [very good!] Absorption in work, the more exacting, the more effective, has long been known to be a specific for maiming emotional wounds [of all kinds, besides!]. Thus it happens to be a fact that so long as humans have God and work they can usually carry on in their life station in a decent and acceptable fashion [what an "exaggeration" of—sex!]. Even with only one of these it is possible to manage.

When, however, God fails and the anodyne of compulsive work is withheld, while at the same time sexual repression obtains and is even aggravated [!], then the plight of the unfortunate individual is indeed desperate. Such was exactly the plight of many upper-class Europeans at the turn of the last century when psychoanalysis had its inception. Their religious illusions had been undermined by the tidal wave of scepticism that swept across the educated classes as the nineteenth century wore on, constituting one of the social [!] contradictions that had then begun to crack the foundations of capitalism. Women especially, because women's subjugated status had not been broken, were largely denied the release of socially approved work. And, of course, the same precondition [!] for neurosis obtained for parasitic males of the leisure class. At the same time the exorbitant exactions of Victorian morality bore down upon upper-class women with a weight of instinctual renunciation previously [!] unknown [!] in history. And their situation was worsened by the fact that their means and the changing habits of upper-class life at the time tended to increase the sexual stasis by an increased stimulation from which the more circumscribed lower classes were still protected [!]. Thus, while psychoanalysis was in a sense the creation of Freud's unique personal genius, it was in a more fundamental [!] sense called forth by the need of a social [!] system entering upon its decline; and in precise correspondence [!] with the deepening of that decline, has the subsequent development of psychoanalysis unfolded. [The man who wrote that is a thinker, not a babler!] From the status of an upper-class luxury, psychoanalysis in its numerous revisions and latter-day denominations is now percolating downward and deeper into the social structure, and for exactly the same reasons that first [!] affected the top social layer.

While an earlier and healthier intellectual scepticism is now frequently replaced by an effete cynicism, the guts of religion, nevertheless, are gone for the educated classes, and if intellectuals appear to be flocking back to the churches, it is partly the padded statistics of the religious hucksters, and partly because nominal church membership and outward compliance with traditional church forms is an approved method for demonstrating social conformity. Also there is the disconsolate herd seeking fellowship which is not to be found in this competitive and insecure culture. But these things are not religion in any true sense, nor do they constitute an effective therapy against guilt anxiety. Likewise, the healing balm is to a large extent gone out of work which is what Dr. Fromm means when he says that work is no longer creative. As modern developments, including automation,

depersonalize the productive process, the meaningful content of more and more jobs disappears entirely. Neurotics can no longer rationalize their drudgery into something important and significant. Work that expends little effort or emotion yields little catharsis. Thus while women have been admitted into business and the professions on close to an equal footing to men, and while for the nonce there are jobs for nearly everyone, work is generally becoming so depersonalized and meaningless, which is to say in the latter instance, non-productive, irrational and even socially destructive, that even those with the greatest masochistic need [I think here of an "intellectual" who has a tremendous talent to make himself—suffer!] can find little release in dedication to work duty. Concurrently [!] sexual stasis is mounting, that is to say the dammed-up need for physiological and emotional release of libido, that in pathological excess [!] is recognized in psychoanalytic theory to produce the classic neurotic syndromes and related psychosomatic disorders. The abnormal excess of erotic stimulation in this society over and above wholesome and possible means for release is due to a complex of causes and is a direct expression of deepening social [!] regression.

Well, dear Paul, that's what I call an explanation! But even if you were able (I can't believe it) to disagree with it—where is that trace of exaggeration, sexual determinism and Freudianism on which John's article is "based foursquare"?

(m)

The pathogenic excess of stimulation that characterizes this period of moral breakdown is due in part to the tremendous commercial exploitation of sex as a commodity. The emergence of women into industry, business, and the professions, as well as the disappearance of most of the traditional barriers that once separated the sexes, has directly increased stimulation and stasis. The rise of youth as a separate and powerful social faction with its platform of demands, including sexual satisfaction, is another factor. Also there is coming to the front a correlative faction of ageing and elderly persons vastly increased in numbers and demanding more and more of life and life's satisfactions, as the average life span continues to increase [what is problematical in this is wholly unimportant!]. In addition must be figured such factors as greater leisure [unimportant!], a higher level of material consumption [unimportant!], and increased physical mobility. These and numerous other changes all contribute to throw the sexes together without the old restraints, yet without the social preconditions for a new moral synthesis. The result is to raise the pressure of sexual stasis in our society to a nearly unbearable pitch.

The directly resulting guilt-anxiety and neurosis permeate all levels of society, finding expression in alcoholism, violence and crime, mental illness, and psychosomatic sickness. This is not [!] to claim a simple [!] and exclusive [!] sexual etiology for those related [!] aspects of the overall social [!] disorder under a system of artificially maintained scarcity. It is only to insist that the pathogenic effect of sexual misfunction [!] be recognized, and its relation to economic [!] misfunction in capitalist retrogression be opened up to public view. As beneficiaries of the system, at least in a short-run, financial sense, the revisionists and latter-day practitioners of psychoanalysis are uniformly concerned to hide the sexual problem. By one means or another they must deny or conjure out of sight Freud's sexual content. They must do this because the sexual problem always raises the more inclusive [!] social problem. And particularly must they minimize sex as an irrelevant issue because sex and economics are so closely coupled [right!] in the basic social institution of family and marriage. To deal with family and marriage in any candid way is at once to

expose the most glaring and irrational contradictions of the social [!] impasse of our time.

Remind yourself here once more of Pie's "instrument" and then tell me where you find a trace of what we are looking for.

(n) Attention! Attention! We approach the "danger-point"!

When one accepts Dr. Fromm's proposition that "guilt feelings make a person prone to submit to authorities which want to use and subdue him for their own ends" [I feel very guilty about it, but I accept that proposition as *self-evident*!] what comes to view is apparently a circulatory, self-maintaining mechanism for social [!] discipline. It would be a social [!] invention of prime utility under conditions of material scarcity where an increase [!] in production entailed [!] more severe renunciations and greater exactions of labor. *Religious prohibition stigmatized sex, sex taboos produced guilt, guilt induced submission to authority, both religious and secular, as the required price for partial alleviation, the unresolved residue of guilt-anxiety being sufficient to maintain the original religious, guilt-producing taboos, but not enough to disrupt production.* [Emphasis added.]

This formulation might seem [!] comprehensive. It does not, however, take into account the fact, already noted, that work itself, under certain conditions, is as effective as the sacraments in dispelling guilt. Nor does it explain how this guilt-generating device got its original [!] impulse, and how it was apparently so easy for "the great spiritual teachers of the human race" to convince people that sex is bad. This is the part that Dr. Fromm keeps well hidden. . . . From where we stand today it is not easy to keep this part hidden. It is particularly difficult since Freud's discovery [!] of the sexual etiology of neurosis, which is precisely the nub upon which Dr. Fromm's revisionism centers. In fact Dr. Fromm, himself, recognizes this difficulty, but in reverse, so to speak, attempting to make it out to be a difficulty on the part of obtuse or stubborn colleagues. "There is one particular difficulty which many psychiatrists and psychologists have to overcome in order to accept [ha ha!] the ideas of *humanistic psychoanalysis*. They still think in the philosophic premises of nineteenth-century materialism which assumed that all important psychic phenomena must be rooted in (and caused by) corresponding *physiological*, somatic processes. Thus Freud, whose basic philosophical orientation was molded by this type of materialism, believed that he had found this physiological substratum of human passion in the "libido". In the theory presented here, there is no corresponding physiological substrata to the needs for relatedness, transcendence, etc. [sex is, apparently, lacking!]. The substratum is not a physical one. . . ."

This is false, perniciously, and studiously false. The key to the whole thing is that that which Dr. Fromm calls the substratum is exactly *physical* and material. Starting here, the mystery of what activates [!] the socially [!] repressive religious sex-guilt mechanism is soon brought out into the daylight.

It may be categorically asserted that it is possible to stigmatize sex as bad only when it is *felt to be bad*. *Actually it is never sex, that is to say sexual satisfaction, that is felt to be bad*. It is rather the somatic suffering induced by the lack of sexual satisfaction. It is at the root the flesh-and-blood distress of the physical organism specifically expressing the disorder of its sexual function, especially that arising from sexual privation.

Freud never claimed credit for having discovered the sexual etiology of neuroses. . . . But it was Freud's indisputable achievement to have taken this idea out of obscurity and to have built the psychoanalytical movement upon it. Freud's clinical work established beyond

all doubt the fact of a gross, physical [!] element of sexual disturbance in all neurosis. Thus was positively demonstrated a direct causal link between guilt-anxiety and sexual privation. And it is this causal link, and nothing else, that the latter-day revisionists move heaven and hell to deny.

Dear Paul, if you now think that you have found what we are looking for (namely in the passage I have italicised)—if you think so, then you are badly mistaken. I will return to this section after having quoted a little more.

(o)

It may be assumed that in the race's sub-human [sub-human is important in another connection!] stage instinctual satisfactions were occasional, fleeting, and precarious. Pleasure was taken where it was found, without much foresight or hindsight, or with little regard for consequences. While there may have been mating, that is to say more or less permanent pairing relationships between the sexes, there was no marriage. Marriage is a late social relation.

Speculation about primeval conditions is mostly fanciful, and is usually based either upon false analogies with the behavior of other animal species or upon unwarranted inferences drawn from recent observations of "primitive" human groups, the "lowest" of which are far removed in cultural evolution from the primeval stages. We do know, however, that for ages the human species was few in numbers and widely scattered, probably small wandering bands of food gatherers, and later, hunters. The uniquely long dependency period of the human young, biologically structured, entailed social co-operation. Perhaps the primary social tie was established at the mother's breast. But we have no reason to assume, for instance, that males were bound to females solely [!] by sexual need, and tolerated children only [!] because of the mothers. Rejecting all such tendentious assumptions [ha, what a "Freudianism" and "sexual determinism"!], it is more reasonable to be content with the lone, indubitable fact that by some measure of social [!] co-operation between the sexes human young were begotten, fed, protected, and educated. And only because of this did the race survive. It is a truism that we are here today because from earliest times some humans did find enough to eat, had sex relations, and reared their young.

If we were able to go back far enough, we might reach a stage when as soon as humans were weaned from the breast they ate their food separately as they found it, or fought for it like jackals and hyenas. Certain it is, however, that very early with humans the hunt for food and its consumption began to emerge as shared activity in which co-operation grew increasingly more important. In seeking the genetic root of human society some might want to give primacy to shared activity in food gathering, others to the co-operative nature of the sex act, and others to the nurturing of children by adults. It were better [indeed!] not to single out any [!] one of these relationships in particular [!], recognizing that for humans co-operative behavior emerges naturally in all three of these basic activities, and that different co-operative acts are mutually [!] supportive.

In practice these activities were of necessity carried on in close conjunction. But because alimentative [!] need under conditions of primeval scarcity was first [!] and last [!] the most tyrannical, the procurement of food must have absorbed the larger share of human attention [!] and effort [!], setting the frame [!] within which all [!] human activity was carried on. At first sex pleasure must have come as casually as the spring sunshine or the ripened fruit of autumn. And in practice the nurture of children, when they appeared, as . . . mainly the feeding of them.

The original [!] tyrant is the empty belly. The compulsion to fill it has forced the development of human life up through the ages, and has finally brought the race where it stands today on the verge of abundance and freedom. To secure its existence the race has not only brought forth superb powers of inventive intelligence unequalled by the other species, but it has disciplined itself with unique and merciless rigor. Up to now every [!] established social [!] institution, whatever else it may be in addition, is to some degree an instrument of compulsive discipline, serving to bind humans to the wheel of labor. This compulsive function is particularly oppressive in the interwoven [!] complex of social relations that in our culture is designated, at different times and for different reasons, according to its several parts, that is to say as *marriage*, the *family*, or the *home*.

We cannot here unravel all the various threads of this intricate social fabric, nor follow back their windings through social evolution. It is mainly the disciplinary function of the home that requires [!!!—you see!] analysis here [!]. We have noted that its involved and highly developed compulsive pressures serve to subdue humans to productive effort. The hard exactions of material want have structured [!] the home. The price of its protection is high and cruelly exacted.

Home includes [!] both marriage and family and considerably more besides. . . . If to *marriage* is assigned a meaning roughly comprising the specific socially licensed sex relations between man and wife, and to *family* the broader relations involving children, what remains is the material [!] means and context of these two classes of relations, secured through labor. The contemporary compulsive complex of sex relations, child-rearing relations, and work relations derives from the simple primeval prototypes of cave or campfire, except that in the course of social evolution, sex and child-rearing have been increasingly [!] subordinated [!] to the requirements of production [!]. It is precisely this subordination of human [!] relations to work [!] relations that is now obsolescent [!]. . . .

We have already considered the mechanism whereby through sexual privation human tractability to work is augmented [!] and anchored [!]. We have seen how sex privation is converted *physiologically* as well as psychologically, to anxiety [!] and guilt-feelings [!] and finally, submissiveness [!—and that is something very different from a “sublimation-theory” à la Freud]. We have taken cognizance of the religious device whereby a supply of guilt-feelings are continually generated, while at the same time any socially [!] dangerous excess is drained off in ritual. Thus marriage, as institutionalized sexual privation is made compulsive under secular law, and as a religious sacrament is invested with sacred sanctions.

But compulsive marriage involves only one phase of the general sexual privation exacted according to the requirements of production [!] in an economy of scarcity. In some “backward” cultures, where the production drive was minimal [!] because of the exceptional bounty of the environment, children were sometimes permitted nearly unrestricted latitude of sexual expression. [Keep this in mind for—later!] In contrast, in nineteenth-century Europe when the capitalist productive machine was attaining top speed, and before it had begun to break down seriously, the suppression of the child's natural sexuality was carried to an incredible extent, and it was thus forgotten for a time that children were sexual beings. Freud's rediscovery of infant sexuality at the beginning of this century was an accomplishment of genius, notwithstanding that this discovery had been placed on the order of the day by the incipient breakdown of the capitalist cultural mechanism and its entire repressive structure. . . .

In dissolving the primary [!] compulsion, which is the age-old compulsion of material scarcity, there will be dissolved with it, and rendered socially [!] baseless, all secondary [!] compulsions. . . .

Sex and economics are far too closely intertwined [damn right!]. And any honest and reasonable attempt to cure the sexual problem flies straight as an arrow to the heart of the social [!] question.

In his chapter on "Sex and Character" Dr. Fromm opines that "because ethics was narrowed down to the small area of sexual behavior . . . the really significant ethical problems in human behavior were veiled", these being "hate, envy and ambition", also "lust for power", and the like. The causal [!] relationship stated here is false and misleading. In this society all [!] important ethical problems, including sexual problems, are veiled, and for the most practical [!] of practical reasons. In fact "ethics" is precisely the veil that is employed to cover up and to disguise the inevitably horrible features of human relations under conditions of scarcity and exploitation. Ethics in practice turns out to be a fabric of hypocrisy and rationalization. As there is no real cure under capitalism for "hate, envy and ambition" or "lust for power", the practitioners of "ethics" hide their impotence with floods of cheap moralizing. By this means the moralists seek ever to divert socially disturbing emotions away from their rational objects and to turn them back upon their source of origin. . . .

It was by no random, vulgar accident that morality, heretofore, has been identified in popular thinking largely with restrictions upon sexual behavior. Very early in cultural evolution, and under the compulsion of primeval scarcity, sexual restriction [good!] became one of the principal elements [!!!] of social discipline. Scarcity enforced [!] a restrictive morality. Moral discipline, now [!] solidified into an autonomous, self-perpetuating system of social constriction currently threatens human survival.

(p) I have now gone through the whole body of John's article (the *entire* remainder, including the points at which I have interrupted a quotation, is still further removed from your accusations than anything I have put under your eyes) and still not found a trace of Freudianism, sexual determinism or exaggerated ideology of sex. Such pains has one to take in order to do justice to a man who has been wronged heavily by many and whose *excellent* article has been called *shit* by loudspeakers who don't understand what they are talking about. To make that still plainer (if possible) I return now to the italicised passage on page 128 which involves also Dutschler's criticism of John and reads:

Religious prohibition stigmatized sex, sex taboos produced guilt, guilt induced submission to authority, both religious and secular, as the required price for partial alleviation, the unresolved residue of guilt-anxiety being sufficient to maintain the original religious, guilt-producing taboos, but not enough to disrupt production.

Though there is not *one iota* of sexual determinism in this (all that John says is *self-evident* without being trivial) it has nevertheless led to the following criticism by Dutschler who, in sharp contrast to naked bullshit and naked accusations, brings *substance* into the debate even where he errs:

. . . in our culture sex obsession or sexual determinism, if you will [but obsession is not *determinism* if the word shall have meaning], is almost "natural". Clarkson more or less echoes the Freudian exaggeration that civilization and all [!] its products are one [!] vast sublimation; that any [!] activity other than sex or that is not a means to sex represents (1) a deprivation of sex (2) a conversion of sexual energy into other channels. Thus Clarkson's mechanism for

the rise of civilization is: restriction on sexuality—leading to guilt feelings—leading to greater restriction—leading to culture.

I have shown extensively (and in order to see that you have "only" to re-read this letter and to observe my annotations in form of exclamation marks, remarks inserted into John's text, and comments)—I have shown in *full* that John is far removed from echoing in any degree the Freudian exaggeration that civilization and *all* its products are *one vast sublimation* (he is *not* concerned with that at all and it is not by chance that the word "sublimation" or anything alluding to it is completely lacking in his article), and that any activity other than sex represents (1) a deprivation of sex (2) a conversion of sexual energy into other channels. And if we now compare the mechanism which comes for John *into view* in a definite context (namely that "*guilt-feelings* make a person prone to *submit to authorities . . .*")—if we compare this *circulatory, self-maintaining* mechanism for *social discipline* (under capitalism) with Dutscher's mechanism, we find that there is an abyss between the two mechanisms. For John *religious prohibition* stigmatized sex, sex taboos produced *guilt*, guilt induced *submission to authority*, both religious and secular—for Dutscher the mechanism consists in *restriction on sexuality*—leading to guilt feelings—*leading to greater restrictions*—leading to *culture*. In the first case we have a *self-maintaining* mechanism for *social discipline* (submission to authority) in the interest of *increasing production*—in the second case we have a *self-expanding* (guilt-feelings *leading to greater restrictions*) mechanism leading to *culture*. It is clear that the latter mechanism can easily be used for Freudian "sublimation theories" of all sorts and also for extension of psychoanalysis into *sociology* (sexual determinism) on biological grounds. John, as said, has nothing to do with that and "sublimation" does not even enter his head. In other words: Where Freudian sociology leads to reaction, John's view leads always to the *social question* as the *real* problem which *can* and *must* be solved if we are to survive.

What has happened, then, to Dutscher? Apparently this: he has confounded Freudian views with those of John or rather has (probably seduced by certain passages in John's article which we have still to examine) *applied* Freudian views to John from the *outside*, so to speak, preventing himself in this way from grasping the *fundamental difference*. Thus he could say that John more or less echoes the Freudian exaggeration that *civilization* and *all its products* are *one vast sublimation*; that *any activity other than sex* or that is *not a means to sex* represents (1) a *deprivation of sex* (2) a conversion of sexual energy into *other channels*—while John insists:

1. *Certainly* there is *more* to happiness in marriage *and in life* than sexual satisfaction. Admittedly, sex is *not* everything. There are *several necessary conditions* for marital happiness, *one* of which is sexual satisfaction.

2. This is not to claim (namely not even in the fields of guilt-anxiety and neurosis!) a *simple* and *exclusive* sexual etiology for these *related* aspects of the overall *social disorder* (*overall social disorder* as

"sublimation" would be good because this disorder, too, is a *product of civilization*) under a system of artificially maintained scarcity. It is only to insist that the *pathogenic* effect of sexual *misfunction* be recognized, and its relation to *economic* misfunction in capitalist retrogression (another good instance of "sublimation"!) be opened to the public view.

But John is certainly "guilty" of having written (as already quoted):

1. Sexual privation is an *integral* and *necessary* element of the *general inclusive* privation that is enforced by physical and moral compulsion under *capitalism's* artificially maintained economy of scarcity.

2. The first *crude, tentative* ventures at *social* organization seem to have been in *substantial* part attempts to control erotic feelings and to confine them within forms of expression consistent with the needs of the prevailing economy (add to this my "fault-finding" on page 121).

3. Thus it appears that *restriction* upon the sexual appetite was an *invariable element* in the *rise of civilization*, that is to say in the *gradual* progress of human mastery of the *material* conditions of life.

4. In that case (namely in the case that guilt feelings or consciousness of sin, etc., cannot be controlled) the *cultural gain* from the sex-denial-guilt mechanism would be lost.

5. We must now examine the psychosomatic mechanism whereby sex-guilt *supports* an economy of scarcity.

Saying in advance that I *agree completely* with John on these points, I guess that they are the points which seduced Dutscher to replace John's mechanism by the mechanism of Freudians. I guess so because Dutscher continues to state:

For him [John] sexual restriction was the *sine qua non* of human progress. The case is, however, rather the reverse: the external, compulsive restrictions of the sexual appetite invariably [!] were [and are] an element in human enslavement, in civilizational decline [!]
because they are themselves degradations.

Though it is one thing to say that *restriction* upon the sexual appetite was an *invariable element* in the *rise of civilization*, and another thing to say it was the *sine qua non* of human progress—we may nevertheless ask what is wrong if it *had* been the *sine qua non*. Dutscher goes on to say:

Sexual restrictions were not a *sine qua non* of anything [!]. Culture might [!] have developed, in a far more harmonious and much less painful way, without such restrictions. Clarkson is, of course, assuming that the only way civilization could have developed is the way it actually did [!] develop—including all stupidities, blindnesses and brutalities—a point of view rather patently absurd. One must separate the *necessary* elements in any organic development from the inessential by-products. Applying Clarkson's reasoning to the human organism it is as though one were to say that the contraction of childhood diseases is necessary to the development of the human being.

That culture *might* have developed in better ways is sheer speculation and leads at once into a million "ifs" of history, but it

doesn't help us in solving the problem. "In history, it is exclusively a matter of what has actually happened, not of what might have occurred under different circumstances and conditions", and Dutscher admits that civilization *actually did* develop according to the view ascribed to John. If we now begin with the beginning and turn to that "most nearly universal" *sex regulation* called *prohibition of incest*, we find that he also admits that, contrary to what he says, *sexual restriction* was the *sine qua non* of human progress. For the sake of convenience I quote once more:

White-Dutscher: The problem was now to extend [!] the scope of mutual aid. . . . Co-operation between families cannot [!] be established if parent marries child; and brother, sister. A way must [!] be found to overcome this centripetal tendency with a centrifugal force. This way was [!] found in the definition and prohibition of incest.

John: The incest prohibition would be an effective social device for repressing sexuality in the service of economic productivity [!], especially in primeval family groups. It is not necessary to attribute conscious design. A cultural [!] mutant that proved superior [!] for survival is sufficient explanation.

Well, Dutscher struggles bravely with the problem and says good things about "deprivation", "freedom", "passing fancies", but however we may interpret the word "restriction" in the light of day: incest prohibition is a *sexual restriction* in spite of all; incest must have been a powerful habit of long standing, and its prohibition must have been felt as *restriction* and had therefore to be institutionalized, ritualized and enforced. And since we know of no other social device or cultural mutant that proved superior for survival (permitting increase of economic productivity), incest prohibition (sexual restriction) was the *sine qua non* of human progress and John is quite right in stating 1. that the first crude, tentative ventures at *social* organization seem to have been in *substantial* part attempts to control erotic feelings (better: sexual relations which proved to be a hindrance to development) and 2. that it appears that restriction upon the *sexual* appetite (better: existing sexual habits) was an *invariable* element in the *rise* of civilization, in the *gradual* progress of human mastery of the *material* conditions of life.

As said, Dutscher struggles bravely and objects:

In conjunction with this statement the quotation from Murdock should be carefully reread, viz., that it was not sex itself which was the object of sex regulation in most cultures, but other social phenomena which were regulated by specific sexual taboos. In a word, just as the restrictions placed upon sexuality have differed from society to society so the reasons for the restriction have differed.

Very good, but what has it to do with John who, starting from that *nearly most universal* sex regulation (incest taboo), can agree heartily and say: That's just what I have asserted and I have done a little better than Murdock who refers to such *social phenomena* as marriage, kinship, social status, reproduction and ceremonial—"phenomena" which are, except for kinship and reproduction as such, *results* of the incest taboo—but forgets that "phenomenon" which is

in the first and last place the by far most important one, namely *economic productivity*. I have nowhere asserted that sex regulations in primitive societies aimed at *sex itself* (I reserve that for later stages) —I have asserted that they were introduced for *social organization* and in the *service of economic productivity*. And I have done what is required: I have *separated* the *necessary* element in social development from the inessential by-products. It is for this reason that I can easily reply when Dutschler says further:

The different restrictions are in fact only explicable from the nature of the different social set-ups. If, on the other hand, one assumes with Clarkson that the reason for sex regulation has always been one and the same, namely to curb the sex appetite in the conscious or unconscious interests of "progress", one is unable to account for the bewildering variety of sexual taboos from culture to culture (one would expect a rather uniform blanket taboo upon intercourse outside the marriage relation, as well as within it, and as Murdock says the former hardly ever occurs); nor would one be able to account for the degree of promiscuity permitted in many cultures. For in some primitive [!] cultures fornication between all and all, except brother and sister (the most general but not the invariable taboo) is quite common. Clarkson would, of course, point to the taboo mentioned as confirmation of his viewpoint [and rightly so because it is the essential or decisive one!]. However, anyone else would point to the extent of promiscuity in the majority of cultures and rightly say: My God, even if incest were an invariable curb of culture upon the sex appetite, which it is not [but that is here not the question: it is invariably *control* of sexual relations in the form of *restriction*], one could hardly conclude that there was much restriction of sex in the interest of "progress"—what with promiscuity, polygamy, polyandry, etc., permitted in so many cultures. Clarkson would use all evidence of restriction as proof, but disregard all evidence to the contrary. Moreover, the mere fact that an adult or child (primitives often actively encourage a child's sex play) [which John knows and mentions himself!] is restricted to having intercourse "only" with those members of the opposite sex who do not belong to his or her kinship group, hardly constitutes proof of restriction upon the quantity of total intercourse possible to that person, though it is an indication of restriction upon the quantity of other *persons* with whom one may have intercourse.

Again: The *quantity of total intercourse possible* is not at stake in the incest prohibition—what is at stake is just the restriction upon the quantity of other *persons* with whom one may have (and actually had) intercourse and the *quality* of this restriction as a *superior and decisive* cultural mutant against which other phenomena in the development of cultures can be neglected. As for the "bewildering variety of sexual taboos from culture to culture" they can be accounted for in many ways and *remain* taboos *originating* from the incest taboo (without going into unnecessary details: there is higher and lower, continuous and interrupted, uneven and combined, mixed and regressive development together with impurity, carrying over and transformation of traditions under conditions where they have lost their original meaning and a number of other factors). As for "promiscuity, polygamy, polyandry" and "progress": well, there *could* not be "much restriction" in the interest of progress because the cultures in question had either no *possibility* to go beyond the

first step or had no *incentive* to do so when nature provided enough to live on. The same applies for cultures which have gone far beyond the barbarian and primitive stages and whose development has then been blocked, retarded, broken up, perverted or degenerated up to the point of destruction. It is for this reason that one should *not* expect a rather *uniform blanket taboo* upon intercourse outside the marriage relation—one can expect such a taboo only under certain conditions and at a certain stage of economic development, namely where conditions of material scarcity necessitated compulsive inducement to labor and the subordination of one segment of society to another. It is clear that the “blanket taboo” *can* also be introduced by the ruling strata in order to *stabilize* the existing system when there is, at least for the time being, no further progress possible, but in that case we have just *stagnation* instead of higher development. I do not know which “three societies” Murdock has in mind that include the “blanket taboo”, but it is equally clear that Western society, the *only* society which in spite of all social contradictions really *progressed* and has brought about the solution for the problem of scarcity—it is clear that this society *had* to include that “blanket taboo” and could not have progressed as it did without it. And it is this society with its specific weight which is *decisive*—200 or 300 other societies or cultures count in this respect as nothing. It is a hard fact but a fact that:

(1) Restriction upon the sexual appetite (besides: I don't like that crude expression which seems to me truly American!) was an *invariable element* in the *rise* of civilization, in the *gradual* progress of human mastery of the material conditions of life;

(2) Sexual privation is an *integral* and *necessary element* of the *general* inclusive privation that is enforced by physical and moral compulsion under capitalism's artificially maintained economy of scarcity.

Hard facts have “simply” to be accepted, and it is another hard fact that:

(1) Sex-guilt *supports* an economy of scarcity and that

(2) There is a definite *cultural gain* not only from the sex-denial-guilt mechanism, but also from control of, and restrictions upon, sexuality in general. I can therefore not agree when Dutschler says:

The external, compulsive restrictions of the sexual appetite *invariably* were (and are) an element in human enslavement, in civilizatory decline—because they are in themselves degradations.

To begin again with the beginning I hold that incest was an external, compulsive restriction, but it marks neither a civilizatory *decline* (on the contrary: it stands at the *rise* of civilization) nor a human *degradation*. In other words: There is a real *cultural gain* in some of the restrictions and inhibitions introduced in the course of development, and no civilized society can exist without them if it is to be a “sane” one. Dutschler quotes Nietzsche concerning the “priest” and says that Nietzsche understood the “social function of guilt” *before* Freud and in a far richer way than he was ever able to comprehend this concept. . . .

E. Delimars

STATISTICS AND PROPAGANDA*

The statistics published in the U.S.S.R. so parsimoniously under Stalin and so generously since "peaceful co-existence", have always been a brain-twister for Western economists, whose efforts to see clearly and to draw objective conclusions from them have brought them nothing but headaches. The variability of these statistics with respect to the ways of calculating them, the constant variation in the choice of scales from one table to another,¹ the doubtful trustworthiness of the primary data furnished by the concerns whose management must, come what may, fulfil the plans imposed from on high, make conclusions very hazardous.

On the other hand, ceaseless pressure by the Party forces Soviet statisticians to present their data in such a way as to make the superficial reader and, hence, public opinion, believe that the U.S.S.R. uninterruptedly achieves impressive economic progress which year by year exceeds the forecasts of the official plans. Propaganda beats the big drum without stop on this subject and shamelessly boasts of the results obtained by Soviet science, industry, technique and agriculture.

This propaganda, tirelessly pursued for years past, has managed to create in the free world an image of an all-powerful Soviet Union, more and more prosperous and liberated from the shackles which hinder the economies of other countries. Specific successes of Soviet science and technique in limited but particularly spectacular fields, such as rockets and artificial satellites, are intensively exploited by Moscow in this way. The flagrant lies which peppered the speeches of Khrushchev during his journeyings abroad, not to mention his condescending attitude toward whatever the Western nations could show him, have done nothing but reinforce this mirage.

What is more, the said propaganda aims at discrediting all those who in the West resist the Muscovite spell and refuse to believe that the Communists possess the miraculous formula capable of solving all difficulties. Those who try to make it understood in the West that rockets and satellites are in no way "a disproof of the fabrications about slavery under the socialist régime" and do not prove that

* This article first appeared in the French periodical *Le Contrat Social* (Vol. V, No. 1, January, 1961 and is translated by permission of the author.

1. An example of this variation in the choice of scales is given in my article "Progress in Soviet cattle-rearing in 1959", *Est et Ouest*, Paris, No. 238, June, 1960, p. 28.

"the socialist countries cannot be long in overtaking the most developed capitalist states in *per capita* production", as the Soviet political pamphleteer E. A. Arab-Ogly² affirms—all these unbelievers "in the pay of the imperialists" are taxed with stupidity and with infamy by the Communist press.

Finally, the difference in the acceptance of the most common terms, as well as the standards of that morality called marxist-leninist, create confusion in Western minds, thereby facilitating the diffusion of the Soviet myths. It is moreover difficult to believe that these misunderstandings are not deliberately kept alive by Moscow, for they aim unflinchingly at magnifying the results obtained.*

The examples which follow will give examples of the fallacious interpretation of some common terms.



Certain Western economists were astonished, some years ago, to find in Soviet statistics figures according to which the yield per hectare from the cotton lands of central Asia clearly surpassed that of the best plantations in the United States—a superiority the more unlikely in that the Soviet press itself often complains of delays in the production of cotton.

In the end it was discovered that the term "raw cotton" used as a translation of the Russian expression *khlopok syriets* found in the statistics, means in American statistics the cotton fibre cleaned of its seeds and other impurities, whereas in Soviet statistics it designates the cotton weighed with its seeds at the time of harvesting. Now, cotton fibre forms only 30 to 40 per cent of the "*khlopok syriets*", whence this astonishing Soviet "yield".

The most striking example of this disparity, which statistics play on, has been furnished by Khrushchev himself. In his interminable speech at the session of the Central Committee of the Party held in December, 1958, and devoted to agriculture, he declared in these very words:

In contempt of the facts, Malenkov announced at the Party Congress that the total wheat harvest had risen in 1952 to 8 milliard *puds*, and that the bread problem was thus solved once and for all.

Malenkov acted dishonestly, he used the data of the so-called

2. In his article "Two Testamentary Executors of John F. Dulles", in *Nouvelle Revue Internationale*, Paris, No. 10, October, 1960.

3. *Great Soviet Encyclopaedia* (GSE), 2nd ed., Vol. 46, p. 224.

* One should add that the myth of the Russian colossus is just as deliberately created and kept alive by the Governments of the West in pursuance of interests of their own. If this "colossus" were to be generally known for what it really is, what justification could be given for, *inter alia*, the constant (and increasing) expenditure on arms, satellites and so forth? A good example of this was given by Frank Morris in "The Sputnik Scare", *Contemporary Issues*, Vol. 9, No. 36 (1959), pp. 227-241. (Eds., *Contemporary Issues*).

"biological" harvest, although no one is ignorant of the great difference between the "biological harvest" and the wheat actually got in. One cannot make bread with a "biological harvest". . . . One makes bread with wheat.

Now in 1952, the best year of the period 1949-1953, the kolkhozes and sovkhoses harvested only 5.6 milliard *puds* and not 8 milliard. Even when the kolkhozes and sovkhoses had delivered to the State part of their seed grain, the State collected only 2.1 milliard *puds*, a quantity insufficient to cover current needs, let alone the building up of indispensable stocks.

To assert that 8 milliard *puds* had been harvested was nothing but deception; it was to dupe the Party and the people in order to camouflage the serious failures in agriculture, the direction of which was entrusted to Malenkov.⁴

As is known, "the biological harvest or harvest on the ground is the standing crop, that is to say, that which has grown on a given area. . . . In estimating it, the losses suffered during the harvest are not taken into account".⁵

According to marxist-leninist morality Malenkov's flagrant lie became a dishonest act only from the moment that its author and the whole "anti-Party" group were declared undesirable by the Central Committee in the summer of 1957. Before that, the lie in question was quite normal and moral. Khrushchev and the "collective leadership", as well as all the statisticians in the country, adapted themselves to it very well for years.

Their attitude is in no way astonishing, for according to the morality of the Party, "those actions which harmonise with the march toward Communism and with the struggle for Communism, are objectively moral".⁶

In 1952, while Stalin was still sole judge of moral criteria, the admission of a serious setback in agricultural policy was certainly considered much more harmful to the cause of Communism than a lie aimed at saving face.*



It might be objected that only particular cases are involved, which are therefore hardly conclusive. Statistics relating to industry now would be more trustworthy. But the patriarch of Soviet economists and statisticians, the Academician S. G. Strumilin, furnishes an argument the bearing of which is quite general and sweeps aside this objection.

We know, thanks to him, how greatly statistics relating to pro-

4. *Pravda*, 16th December, 1958.

5. *GSE*, 2nd ed., Vol. 44, p. 332.

6. Cf. the third topic of the "Syllabus of the course in Marxist ethics", in *Questions in Philosophy*, Moscow, No. 6, June, 1959. Also my study, *Marxist Ethics and its Teaching in the U.S.S.R.*, published in 1960 by the "Centre de recherche du bien politique".

* Let me recall the article by B. Aumont which appeared in our number of May, 1960, in which the author draws attention to certain tricks used in Soviet statistics. (Note by the editor of *Le Contrat Social*.)

duction in the U.S.S.R. differ from reality, in that production is magnified by being calculated in terms of *valovaya produktsia* (gross production), still in use in Moscow, though long since given up in the West.

How could a Soviet scholar, and a Party member moreover, allow himself such an admission which runs the risk of harming the prestige of the régime? Some biographical details may perhaps enable us to answer the question, for Strumilin is not a scholar of Stalinist training on the current model.

A russianized Pole, born in 1877, he was from the age of 20 a member of the Social Democratic Party (R.S.D.R.P.) and like many other Russian socialists of that time, had changed the name of Strumillo-Petrachkevitch to Strumilin in order to throw the Tsarist police off the scent. Imprisoned several times, he twice escaped from his place of deportation. His career as an economist and political writer began in 1905. As a menshevik, he took part in the IVth Party Congress in Stockholm in 1906 and in the Vth London Congress in 1907. It was only in 1923 that he was admitted to the Communist Party. From 1921 to 1937 and from 1947 to 1951 he occupied various managerial posts in connection with the State Plan (*Gosplan*), and at the same time taught at a number of Moscow colleges. A member of the Academy of Sciences in 1931, author of more than 180 important works and articles, he received a Stalin prize in 1942 for his part in a collective work, *The Development of the National Economy in the U.S.S.R. during the War*.⁷

His past as a menshevik who rallied during the N.E.P. probably led him to be suspected of heresy under the Stalin régime, for he published nothing between 1928 and 1944, was excluded from the *Gosplan* in 1937 during the great Purge and returned to it only in 1943.

He is then an old social-democrat whose cast of mind was formed by the principles of the pre-revolutionary intelligentsia for whom scientific truth is not to be tampered with. If he had to conform to the "Party Spirit", it was probably against his will and not without certain subterfuges, as in the case which concerns us.

His article, "Concerning the Efficiency of the New Technical Equipment", dated 1957, was published only in 1959 in a collection of his various writings.⁸ In this he deals indirectly with the validity of the methods in use in statistics, in the course of criticising the engineer Tchukhanov, a specialist in thermotechnics, a scientist of purely Stalinist training (born in 1912), and a corresponding member of the Academy of Science.⁹

The latter had suggested to the Committee for Technical Equipment (*Gostekhnika*) that it measure the efficiency of new equipment

7. GSE, 2nd ed., Vol. 41, p. 159.

8. S. G. Strumilin: *Sketch of the Socialist Economy of the U.S.S.R., 1929-1959*, Moscow, 1959.

9. GSE, 2nd ed., Vol. 47, p. 485.

by the growth of gross production alone, without taking into consideration its components—not by means of the saving in labour, nor by means of evaluating the share in this of the increase in gross production and of the saving in labour respectively, according to Strumilin the only rational procedures.

Strumilin takes issue with Tchukhanov whose method allows him to assert that the annual increase in production during the course of the last two Five-Year Plans was around 15 per cent, to which should be added the 5 per cent of the depreciation fund destined to replace worn-out plant:

Tchukhanov's assertion is based only on the movement of investments, and on the annual increases in the volume of gross production, and takes no account of the labour force indispensable to these increases. But technical equipment can create nothing without using up the work furnished by the labour force. First flaw in Tchukhanov's conception.

The second is to adopt as a measure of the efficiency of investments, the movement of gross production, without taking into account changes which occur in the composition of this production. These changes are, however, essential. Thus, from 1932 to 1955, the structure of expenditure in industrial production evolved in the following manner:

<i>Elements of Expenditure</i>					1932	1955
1.	Materials	...	...	...	47.5	66.1
2.	Fuel and Energy	...	...	...	6	6.2
3.	Monetary Expenditure (services)	...	...	...	7.4	3.1
Total of the three elements					60.9	75.4
4.	Depreciation	...	...	...	3.5	3.4
Total Expenditure on Materials (c)					64.4	78.8
5.	Salaries (v)	...	...	...	30	19.8
6.	Increases in Salaries	...	...	...	5.6	1.4
Total Expenditure					100.0	100.0

In 23 years, on the basis of 100 roubles of salary (v), the expenditure on materials (c) rose from 215 to 398 roubles, i.e., an increase of 85 per cent. This is a very important change. It means that net production, in other words, national income, increases in our country, as it does everywhere else, more slowly than gross production". (Page 234.)

Strumilin puts this idea more sharply in a footnote on the same page:

Gross production increases above all owing to the fact of the multiple entering of the material elements of that production, whereas wear and tear of the means of production and salaries are entered only once. It follows that the share of these last in the total expenditure decreases in comparison with the expenditure on materials.



This lag between gross and net production is a patent fact; but it seems to have been wilfully ignored by Soviet statisticians, who con-

tinue to publish only data concerning gross production. These figures, when it is not only percentages that are in question, as under Stalin, are naturally much more suitable for propaganda tending to magnify the progress of the economy, than the much more modest figures of real production, calculable by more refined methods.

Yet Soviet economists have known for more than 30 years that the indices of gross production can give no idea of the real evolution of the economy. The article *Valovaya Produktsia* ("Gross Production") in the *Great Soviet Encyclopaedia* (1st Ed., Vol. 8), gives the proof of this. The work dates from 1927, an epoch at which Stalin had not yet made lying or dissimulation obligatory. In it one may in fact read the following:

The term "gross production" denotes one of the methods of calculating volume of production by value. For a specific economic unit, for example, an industrial enterprise, "gross production" represents the sum of the values of the finished or semi-finished products manufactured, beginning with the raw materials, whether they are the factory's own, or bought from outside (it being understood that the value of the products subject to a new transformation in that same factory and of the products consumed during manufacture is deducted from this sum). . . .

The gross production of a branch of an industry or of the whole of an industry is obtained by the addition of the data furnished by the method indicated above for each enterprise in that branch or in that industry. . . .

If one calculates this gross production by means of a simple addition of the gross products of the economic enterprises in a given area of industry, a disparity arises between this and the real volume calculated by value of the production of that area, because this volume becomes magnified. This over-estimate is caused by the multiple entering of the same article, since the production of certain enterprises, already entered, can be entered again one or more times as part of the gross production of other enterprises to which these products are delivered for further transformation.

Thus cloth, already entered as among the products of the textile industry, can again figure in the gross production of the clothing industry, etc.

Qua economic category, gross production in no way represents the real volume of production, expressed by value, nor the total value of that production, but solely the sum of the values of concrete commodities delivered to the market by the various enterprises. A part of these commodities can, one or more times, find a further use in another secondary industry.

It may be of interest to specify the total mass of commodities. The gross production method can have no function other than this; it cannot be used to measure the real volume, calculated by value, of production.¹⁰

After the consolidation of Stalin's dictatorship, economists had no option but to stifle their scruples, so clearly expressed in the article just quoted, and conform to the orders of the Party, for which propaganda effects are much more important than objective reality.

In fact, the article *Volovaya Produktsia Promyshlennosti* ("Gross

10. *GSE*, 1st Ed., Vol. 8, Cols. 664, 665.

Production of Industry") which appears in the 2nd edition of the *Great Encyclopaedia* (1951, Vol. 6), is much briefer than the preceding one. It sweeps aside all these arguments, become so many heresies, and asserts in peremptory fashion:

The gross production of industry describes the size of industrial production and its variations during the period studied; it serves also to calculate changes in the productivity of labour. . . . Gross production is planned and recorded in accounts for industry as a whole in terms of wholesale prices, that is to say, including turnover tax. . . .

As can be seen, there is no longer a trace of doubt as to the validity of gross production as an index of real production. But the article emphasises that gross production includes turnover tax, which once again inflates the figures:

Gross industrial production is recorded in accounts and centralised at the Ministries and the Central Directory of Statistics in terms of wholesale prices including turnover tax. . . "

Since the death of Stalin and "peaceful co-existence," the publication of statistics has much increased. Their presentation is, in appearance, similar to that in other countries, which allows propaganda to boast ceaselessly of the extraordinary successes of the "socialist" economy. The uninformed Western reader, when comparing the indices which figure in both under the same heading, is too often tempted to credit appearances and to believe that all is for the best in the best of all Soviet worlds. It may seem to him that the economic strength of the "socialist camp" is growing at a very rapid rate and that the U.S.S.R. will soon overtake the United States.

Happily, Khrushchev himself, when he needs to denigrate his adversaries in the Party or to demote some leading personality for errors in management,¹¹ sometimes gives some highly instructive information. Objective truth profits also from the scruples of a few scholars, such as Strumilin, who, although subjected for more than 40 years to pressure from the Party, have not lost the art of sound reasoning.

In his controversy with Tchukhanov, the old economist did not limit himself to showing the lag between gross and real production. He pushed his calculations further in order to prove that "the rhythm of growth of gross production is notoriously exaggerated, by comparison with the real growth of the national income, as much in volume as in value" (page 235 of the article quoted) and was able to draw up a table of the evolution of industrial production from 1928 to 1956 inclusive (page 236). The last columns of this table are as follows:

11. *GSE*, 2nd Ed., Vol. 6, p. 577.

12. As in the case of Belyaev, held responsible for the bad harvest of 1959 in Kazakhstan. Cf. my article "Problems of Soviet Agriculture" (*Contrat Social*, July, 1960; *Contemporary Issues*, Vol. 11, No. 41).

Year	Gross		Net	
	Absolute	Value %	By Volume	By Value
1928	21.5	100	10.1	10.1
1932	43.3	202	19.4	14.4
1937	95.5	446	39.8	18.3
1940	138.9	646	69.9	19.8
1945	127.5	593	46.9	17.2
1950	240.5	1,119	81.1	25.6
1955	444.6	2,069	136.1	31.3
1956	492.4	2,290	147.7	33.3

Strumilin emphasises:

The movement of these indices for the war years is not conclusive and must be neglected. What emerges from this table is that in 28 years net production increased 14.6 times, whereas gross production rose 22.9 times (page 236).

If one transforms this table into a graph, as Elizabeth Marbury has done,¹³ one obtains two clearly rising curves and one notices that the upper curve (gross production) rises much more quickly than, and diverges more and more from, that of net production. This phenomenon is inherent in the very nature of gross production as calculated Soviet-style, a fact already stressed in the article in the *Great Encyclopaedia* quoted above:

The category "gross production" has yet another peculiarity which limits its economic utility, the inequality of multiple entering itself, which depends upon the level of concentration in industry. This concentration brings it about that the products at the various stages of the process of production become individually saleable. The more industry is concentrated, the greater is the proportion of commodities not directly put on the market, but used by secondary industry.

The value and volume of these commodities, as we have seen, count as gross production in every enterprise they pass through before they finally turn into the finished product. The development, the concentration of manufacture and the greater and greater specialisation of Soviet industry which multiplies factories, scattering them across the country while yet co-ordinating them, ever increase the frequency of this multiple entering. There results a continual growth in the disparity between the indices of gross production and of real, net production.



This disparity is perhaps one of the reasons which, during the last few years, has induced economists to look for other methods of evaluating production; for the undeniable progress of Soviet industry would soon have resulted in figures of gross production so fantastic that propaganda, notwithstanding its effrontery, would have had a hard job to present them to a public however ill-informed.

Will the calculation of net production in the Soviet sense of the word be adopted in Moscow—that is, by deducting from gross production all the material costs of manufacture (raw materials, fuel,

13. "A Note on some Soviet Statistics" in *Eastern Europe*, Washington, No. 11, November, 1960.

energy and other materials), as well as depreciation? This production will approximate to the "added value", but will coincide with it only in the total balance sheet of the national economy.

Will recourse be had to the "value added by manufacture" of the Americans, or to the "net output" of the English, methods which are, moreover, fairly akin to the Soviet "net production"? Or will some new dodge be found to make the figures seem more credible, without thereby removing their propaganda value? Whatever happens, nothing has changed for the moment. The gross production method, although recognised since 1927 as perfectly unusable, remains the rule.

To this source of serious errors one must add the exaggerations and faking so often denounced in the Soviet press, which distort the figures of production at the various stages of their progress from the individual enterprise to the General Directory of Statistics. In the present phase of the "building of communism", the managerial staff of the enterprises must have real strength of mind and a great devotion to the public good to resist the temptation to touch up the results really obtained, since the fulfilment and above all the over-fulfilment of the plan imposed are accompanied by bonuses and rewards of various kinds.

We may note that the statistical methods of the satellite countries are identical with those in the U.S.S.R.; the statements made by Strumilin are therefore just as valid for these countries.

We are forced to conclude that the dazzling facts about the economic progress of the U.S.S.R. and of the "socialist camp" are subject to caution and should always be submitted to critical examination. Statistics as understood by the Communists are in no way the expression of an objective reality: they are a propaganda weapon to persuade the free world and the Soviet population itself of the forthcoming inevitable defeat of "capitalism".



The foregoing article was being printed when Khrushchev, at the Central Committee of the Party which sat from 10th to 18th of January, denounced the faking of statistics, of which senior Civil Servants are guilty, in order to make people believe that official plans have been fulfilled, if not over-fulfilled. The facts revealed by Khrushchev or other leaders are proof of the misleading character of Soviet figures: kolkhozes which buy butter at a high price on the market in order to sell at a lower price to the State (by what tricks of book-keeping?); half the Ukrainian maize crop stolen by the collective farmers; nine million head of cattle supposed dead for lack of fodder (in reality following a revision of statistics), etc. Such examples speak loud as to the credibility which Soviet assertions on the subject of "competition" with the West merit. They should give those credulous Western economists who admit too easily the truth of the curves and coefficients of which the Communists boast cause to reflect. For example, Alec Nove whose study *Communist Economic Strategy, Soviet Growth and Capabilities*, published by the National Planning Association of Washington, concludes: "The Soviet economic challenge is real and formidable and this must be clearly stated". The statistics of industry will sooner or later be rectified, as have those of agriculture. (Eds., *Contrat Social*).

Alan Dutscher, Paul Ecker & A. Damson

LETTERS ON "RUBICON FOR THE NEGRO SOUTH"

26th December, 1960

Dear Maxwell,

. . . I turn now, after much hesitation, to the one piece in the magazine [No. 40] that I considered unfortunate. This was the leading article. What a pity! We finally have an article on the American negro—but it is very poor. I quote only what disturbed me:

The sit-down demonstrations have signalled the start of a new and decisive [!] phase in the movement to eliminate the . . . "apartheid" system [!]. . . . Barring a fascization of American society . . . [the movement] cannot but [!] emerge victorious. . . . The century-old relics of a slave society are turning to dust before the long-delayed advance of industry. . . . Northern industry . . . began to discover the South, its proximity to raw materials, its reserves of cheap labour [!] and its hostility to trade unionism. . . . [It] required a skilled and literate working force black as well as white, unencumbered by the preposterous [!] code of segregation. . . . As the specific weight of the white farmer, landowner and petty merchants—the chief beneficiaries of negro peonage—declined in the growingly industrial economy, the props of racial servitude began to falter. . . . Legal suits mushroomed . . . until the Supreme Court . . . issued a juridical death warrant against the system [!]. . . . But the warrant remained [!] to be executed . . . the ranks of last-ditch opposition are being gradually deserted by "influential" circles of upper-class and middle-class opinion, concerned more with "business" considerations than with decreasingly relevant factors of racial status. While continuing to give lip-service to segregation, they seek increasingly for compromise [!], decry the "extremists" (on both sides, of course) and try to cushion the impact of segregation while limiting its extent. . . . With notable exceptions, the "business community", chambers of commerce, merchant groups; *et al*, have been deserting the banner of segregation under the pressure of militant negro action, for while cheap labor based on negro impoverishment [!] has been [!] a major lure for migrating industry, disruption of the community's social and economic fabric by racial strife is self-defeating. Little Rock suffered severely in the competition for new factories, in the three-year battle over school integration; the lesson was not lost on business circles in other areas. . . . The stage is set for the collapse of a century-old system of humiliation and oppression. . . . Northern capital, which today holds the key to Southern social life, cannot countenance [!] racial upheaval [!] on its new frontier; the South will find before long that political freedom [!] for the Negro is the price of its ticket to the 20th century.

There it is . . . as radical a piece of social analysis as you would

hope to find in so daring a newspaper as—the *New York Times*, from which, I dare say, all the pertinent "facts" have been gathered, along with the happy prognosis of all but certain victory, and the casting of the chief hero: Mr. Moneybags . . . Northern capital. Well, the Supreme Court may have issued a death warrant; but it remains to be seen what is supposed to die. Moreover, it is not true that the warrant "remained to be executed"; in most cases, it remains to be served. The sit-ins signal a new and excellent phase; what makes them "decisive", however? And why "barring fascization" cannot the Southern negro "but emerge victorious"? Where does the guarantee come from?—Northern capital? Apparently Ecker thinks so. But what a guarantor! Yes, Ecker is right, Northern capital does not like "racial upheaval"; but what has that to do with the limitation of the "'apartheid' system"? Incidentally, I must tell you: There is more "apartheid" in the "progressive" North than there ever was in the South. In the North, the minorities occupy the cities, and the "Americans" move to the suburbs.

. . . More recently it has become possible for whole races to be banned from a city [in the North!]. It is done officially, as in Dearborn, or by subtler forms of exclusion. With FHA and other Federal housing aids, it has now become possible to build a whole city and to tenant it with a group of a single race or color. After developers build communities which are then incorporated, their own police are hired, their own laws enacted, and the "wrong kind of people" kept out. Cicero and Berwyn, Ill., and the Levittowns (N.Y. and Pa.) are other examples of communities with populations of 50,000 or more, but no negroes. Fairless Hills, near Levittown, Pa., financed by U.S. Steel Corporation [Northern capital!], is another community with an all-white population. Most of the negro workers in the new steel plant near Levittown and Fairless Hills have had to crowd into the nearby cities (Trenton, Camden, Phila.) . . . In the pre-auto century, some groups lived in voluntary ghettos, but there were also mixed formations which represented a variety of cultures, languages, colors, interests, tastes, idiosyncracies. The tendency over the long run was to blend interests, and to subordinate biases. In contrast, the suburban community strove for a pattern of one-type occupancy, to be established with private and governmental encouragement. It was to be preserved against inharmonious intrusions by compact and even by law. . . . What began as private prejudice was thus converted into public policy and backed by public agencies, enforced by the full panoply of public power and backed by public credit. . . . The mushroom growth of cities precipitated a demand for the regulation of city development and land use. In its modern sense, zoning had been adopted by German municipalities to keep undesirable uses from encroaching upon residential neighborhoods, and it gained widespread popularity in the U.S. But in its application to racial segregation, zoning already had a longer history. It was long used in Europe as a device to exclude Jews or to confine them to ghettos—a device which in Africa has now been broadened to confine blacks and Indians to prescribed areas. . . . Communities no longer resort to the clumsy device of racial zoning laws, thereby exposing themselves to judicial attack. The methods are more subtle, motives less discernible, and exclusion more [!] effective. Thus, an ordinance might be written to permit no more than one building to an acre or otherwise make any housing development impractical. Those who build for whites can get a modification *pro forma*. But the moment an unwelcome group appears, the officials stand firm on the written

ordinance. In other cases, stricter zoning ordinances are enacted just when a minority is about to start building. Or an ordinance may compel an expenditure of a larger amount of money on each house, or require that the house be of an excessive square footage. As long as the officials do not openly give the reasons for their actions, recourse to the courts is often futile.

I could quote much more from the splendid book by Charles Abrams, *The Forbidden Neighbors* (Abrams is the foremost authority in the world on minority housing). True the book is nine years old; true there are now two or three negro families in Levittown—but the fact remains: Apartheid is increasing in America. And insofar as the South patterns itself on the North, it will increase in the . . . South.

But to continue: All that is necessary to satisfy Northern capital is—token integration. Northern capital moved to the South for cheap labor; cheap labor depends on racism. Northern capital is interested in the end of racial disturbance; but it has never shown itself to be interested in the end of racial *inequality*. Let us look at the record of Northern capital's political arm—the Eisenhower administration: the paratroopers went to Little Rock; but what was accomplished? What about New Orleans now? Zero said and done there, by the executive branch. The partnership of Southern democrats and Northern republicans, or Kennedy and—Johnson, remains solid. Our job should have been to laud negro and white students (incidentally, is Ecker really serious when he writes: ". . . white college students who have disdained [!] social involvement for two decades . . ."—disdained? There was a little matter of MacCarthy, remember?) and other elements that joined in the sit-ins, and hit at the hypocrisy, subservience, indifference of—Northern capital and its negro and white mouthpieces. We should not have confused the end of *de jure* segregation with the beginning of *de facto* equality. I do not know what Ecker understands by end of "apartheid", "political freedom", end of "racial servitude", "death warrant" to the "system". This much I know: If we look at the lot of the Northern negro, we see the limits of the benefits Northern capital extends to these, its children. The Northern negro, for all his "political freedom", is at least as badly off as his Southern counterpart. It is not just residential segregation, with concomitant social segregation; nor is it the by and large token educational integration and even factual segregation in the north, nor is it the gross economic inequality (far more unemployed, far more unskilled)—it is also the demoralization, emptiness, bankruptcy of so much of Northern negritude. Read Franklin Frazier's *Black Bourgeoisie* to see what has happened to the educated Northern negro—boot-licking, white-aping, spiritless; so well "integrated" into American life, that he is indistinguishable in values from his fellow Americans, although still excluded from everything *important* (ah! blessed integration!—this is what you really mean). The Northern negro masses have been demoralized, brutalized and downbeaten by the lack of community in the North: the enormous crime rate, the broken families, speak

volumes about glorious integration. Unfortunately, the Northern negroes are being tamed by the "pushers", the Adam Clayton Powells, the Hulan Jacks, and the like filthy scum. The sit-inners, the bus boycotters are a fresh wind—too fresh indeed for the NAACP, Northern capital and the liberal politicians, all of whom are trying to tame them. It is downright wrong to give the sit-inners the absurd illusion that Northern capital is "objectively speaking" on their side. The bus company had to be *forced* to its knees by the boycotters. And the same is true of the restauraners, the dime store owners, the officials. Unfortunately, the low price of negro labor keeps the price of all labor low in the South, and the low price of negro labor is still based on negro subservience. I repeat: the business community has an interest in the end of racial disturbance; it has still to be proven that it has an interest in the end of racial *inequality*. I believe just the opposite to be true. Basically, Northern capital went to the South for cheap labor; but what makes Southern labor (black and white) cheap, is the position of the negro. As for "political freedom", the South is still, essentially, a one-party oligopoly; thus the negro has no one to vote *for*, even assuming he gets the vote. More negroes are voting; but jerrymandering, economic threats and actions, dynamitings and beatings prevent the negro from taking much advantage of that vote. I think it very poor to lump the sit-ins together with Northern capital—with the former the negroes begin to help themselves, they move outside the official arena, and in opposition to Northern capital. The reliance on legal channels (NAACP) and Northern capital would get them nowhere. The genuine service we could have given the sit-inners would have been to clarify what is *distinctive* in political self-help, and to point out who their real and natural allies are. The strikes *against* Northern affiliates of Southern business concerns, by Northern negroes and white students show that the people involved know (far better than Ecker) who is *not* their ally. These strikes were a simple, yet brilliant, stroke, from which we could have learned much. For it is true that "Northern capital today holds the key to Southern social life [and] cannot countenance racial upheaval"—and this means that Northern capital has to be *forced* in the North as well as the South, to surrender. Whether the sit-inners know it or not, the aim of their struggle is worlds apart from that of Northern capital and its white and black stooges, all of whom focus on—integration. Now, integration is the opposite of separation; but it is not the opposite of inequality. The notion of "integration" arose as a protest against the "separate but equal" slogan of the Bourbons (separate schools, in the South, could not be equal). However, it by no means follows that being integrated the negroes are *equal*. If racial equality is a phony slogan for the negro in Africa, racial integration is a phony slogan in America. Racial equality is the real article here, and it will not be acquired with "integration". On the other hand, *meaningful* integration will not be acquired short of equality; the Northern negro demonstrates this. To integrate is to incorporate, but not necessarily on an equal basis. In practice, then, integration is—token integration and massive

inequality. The "integration" of the Northern negro has not given him anything like equality; in fact, his gains and losses are a very complex thing, and in many ways he is worse off than his Southern brother. Negroes migrate North because the market for labor is far wider—the question of whether their lot is improved is—very much a question. The negro in the North *can* vote; but on a national level, there is no one to vote for. Both parties are equally hypocritical and unhelpful on this issue. And that is the point! Northern capital's political representatives don't give a shit about *equality*—which is the only sensible thing for negroes to struggle for, and which no one in the official arena does struggle for. The sit-inners struggle directly for factual equality, not for tokens (which is what the legal "struggle" as well as the "strivings" of Northern capital are all about). They are struggling for the real thing, which has been denied to the Northern negroes by—Northern capital. The sit-inners have spoken very harshly about the NAACP, about "deliberate speed" (ah! classic phrase). Their struggle is quite distinct from the half-arsed impotence of the courts—and they know it; but Ecker doesn't. To link them with the other, as every liberal rag does is a terrible injustice, obscures the fact that they struggle in this way *just because* the official way is futile and ineffectual, and quite effectively obscures the original and genuinely radical progressive nature of their fight. The shallow optimism of Ecker's article is quite misleading. Let me finish by quoting from someone who really knows, once more:

However the courts may strike at segregation in schools, such segregation will continue when there is segregation in neighborhood—in fact the latter may even become the new vehicle for achieving indirectly the school segregation which the courts have outlawed directly. . . . In every part of the world there is emerging a similarity of symptoms affecting neighborhoods—slums, migration of the underprivileged to the cities, overcrowding, a growing disparity between wages and rents, squatting, social disruption of family life and increasing insecurity of tenure. The most recent phase of the industrial revolution is marked by a movement of non-whites in Asia, Africa, America, and even in some parts of Europe. Simultaneously, there has appeared an increasing emphasis upon discrimination and homogeneity in neighborhoods. These symptoms are exhibiting themselves in developed and underdeveloped countries alike. . . . (Abrams)

Alan Dutscher



2nd January, 1961

Dear Dutscher,

I am moved to some comments on your lengthy criticism of "Rubicon For The Negro South". . . . Despite its negative features (which I shall try to show in a moment) it includes much excellent positive material on the subject of the American negro, which has been badly neglected in *Contemporary Issues*. On this score, my article admittedly left much to be said; it pretended to be nothing

more than a brief sketch of the significance of the sit-in movement and an attempt to place it in an historical perspective. Perhaps its omissions were too great and it was open to some legitimate criticism on this account. But yours, while filling in some of the gaps, misses the mark on two main counts.

In the first place, it sets up a straw man and then attacks it with the ferocity usually reserved for such scarecrows. The figure of hay is the attribution to Ecker of "Mr. Moneybags" as "chief hero" in the negro liberatory movement. A reasonably unbiased reading of the article will provide little to bolster such an interpretation. I cite only the quotations you yourself have reproduced:

The ranks of last-ditch opposition [!] are being gradually [!] deserted by "influential" circles of upper-class and middle-class opinion, concerned more with "business" considerations than with decreasingly relevant factors of racial status. While continuing to give lip service to segregation [!] they seek increasingly for compromise [!], decry the extremists (on both sides, of course), and try to cushion the impact of segregation while limiting its extent [!]. . . . With notable exceptions, the "business community", chambers of commerce, merchant groups, *et al.*, have been deserting the banner of segregation [!] under the pressure of militant negro action [!!!], for while cheap labor based on negro empoverishment has been a major lure for migrating industry, disruption of the community's social and economic fabric by racial strife is self-defeating. Little Rock suffered severely in the competition for new factories in the three-year battle over school integration; the lesson was not lost on business circles in other areas. . . . Northern capital, which today holds the key to Southern social life, cannot countenance racial upheavals [!] on its new frontier. . . .

Bold hero, indeed, that cannot countenance, not racial inequality, but racial upheaval! Shining knight, as drawn by Ecker, who deserts the banner of segregation under pressure of negro militancy, while attempting compromise and the limitation of segregation! The picture is clear: Northern capital comes into the South, not with a torch to lay waste the structure of racial segregation, but with a capital investment to be nurtured. It has no interest in destroying segregation *per se*, any more than the sprouting 18th-century French bourgeoisie had any desire to uproot the monarchy; but its advent nonetheless has set the stage for that destruction through the weakening of those elements in Southern society that benefited most directly from negro peonage and the greater economic strength, cohesiveness and consciousness given to the negroes by their integration into an industrial economy. The most casual reading of "Rubicon" will make it clear, however, that this is a check for social advancement that remains to be cashed by the negroes themselves, and that militant action such as the sit-ins, not reliance upon "deliberate speed", is what is required to collect on it. What you term the article's "shallow optimism" is based, not on the good intentions of Northern capital, but on the fact that its advance into the South has taken the guts out of the system on which segregation was based, while supplying ammunition to its victims. And the undeniable fact is that Mr. Moneybags, while carrying no lance for

racial equality, is not prepared to joust very seriously against it, either; he does not have the stake in its preservation possessed by the Southern landowner, for whom it is a *sine qua non* of economic exploitation. The depressed status of the negro is only a secondary factor in the "attractive" low wage rate of the South; the rate is low because the South has been a semi-developed semi-colony subsisting on marginal agriculture with a standard of living to match. But the differential between Southern wages and Northern wages is bound to disappear, as more and more industry migrates below the Mason-Dixon line, exerting a depressing influence on Northern wages, while increasing the competition for Southern labor. The negroes, as the most depressed segment of the Southern economy, exert the greatest drag on this upward swing, to be sure; but the achievement of political equality will not in itself eliminate the negroes' depressed economic status, as, as your letter shows in its peculiar way, you are only too well aware.

Which brings us to the second point: What we are talking about in "Rubicon" is "political equality" for the negro, not the social and economic equality which is *impossible* in the United States, so long as the present economic system continues. You are quite correct when you state that "racial equality" is the real goal for the negro in the United States; perhaps "Rubicon" suffered from a failure to make the limitations of political equality clear. But you slip badly when you polarize "integration" and "equality". Recall only that the legal standard under which the South has perpetuated its system for more than half a century has been "separate but equal"—pernicious because without an end to segregation there can be no equality. Those negroes participating in the sit-ins know that integration is the precondition to equality, even as they know that the two are not identical and that much more remains to be won in the social and economic sphere following the conquest of "political freedom". And if "Rubicon's" social analysis is as "radical" as the *New York Times*, that in your letter, dear Dutscher, is about as revolutionary as the "True Socialist" criticism of capitalism from the standpoint of feudal nostalgia, as "penetrating" as that of the Southern Bourbon who has been assuring us for years that "we take good care of our niggers", who are better in the South than in the North. To contend that there is more "apartheid" in the North than in the South may sound "really radical"; but it is a flagrant mis-statement of fact that serves only to varnish the South's cruel semi-feudalism. To contend that segregation will increase in the South, because it patterns itself on the North is, let me say it, laughable. To argue that the Northern negro is "at least as badly off as his Southern counterpart" is to deprecate the significance of political equality which, everything else aside, essentially prevails in the North and for which the negro, with sure instinct, is struggling so hard in the South (we leave aside the observation that this argument makes pure idiots of all those negroes who, not knowing when they are relatively well off, have been moving from the South to the North). For what all the quotations from Abrams demonstrate is "simply"

that negroes in the North suffer massively from social and economic inequality, which often is so extreme as to bring them to the brink of . . . the outright political inequality and segregation that prevails . . . in the South! The difference is that in the North the negro has the political freedom that enables him to struggle from a point of vantage for full equality; even this struggle has been making slow headway (what you refer to, not incorrectly, as "token integration" —but "token integration", if followed up, is the toehold for actual integration). In the South, the negro must struggle for the most elementary political rights, for "democracy of form", if you please. In the North, we may have largely *de jure* integration; but *de jure* integration is a big advance, I am afraid, over *de jure* segregation. In the North the law is on the side of the Negro; he is free to find that it is not enough. In the South, the law is on the side of the segregationist; the negro must topple this edifice before he comes face to face with the fundamental fact of his inequality under *capitalist* society, an inequality based on the need for low-paid labor in marginal jobs, a need that requires a reservoir of workers conditioned to nothing better. Political equality is not sufficient; but it cannot be deprecated any more than national independence in colonial countries, which frees the former victims of double exploitation.

If you object still to my analysis of the underlying economic reasons for recent changes in the South's pattern of segregation (and the sit-ins themselves are among them), ponder for a minute and offer your own. For it is impossible to deny the direction of the change after almost a century of rotten stagnation—token integration of the schools, partial integration of transportation and eating facilities, the right to vote (which opens the possibility of ending the South's one-party system even though it hasn't collapsed in a heap at the first negro's vote). It is necessary to account for these changes, not to offer profound wisdom that "fundamentally" nothing has changed. At the close of the 19th century, the Supreme Court handed down the "separate but equal" doctrine, which placed the weight of American State power on the side of segregation and consequent inequality. In the second half of the 20th century, the same court has thrown aside that doctrine and placed the weight of the federal government behind integration. Why the change? A refinement of legal thought? A liberal wind blowing through Washington? The celebrated myth of the independence of the judiciary? If all of these leave something to be desired, try the one that shouts for recognition: The winds of economic change that *prepare the groundwork* for the end to a social anachronism. If "Rubicon" did not make it clear (and I think it did), let me be explicit once more: The economic change does no more than prepare the ground, which must actually be won by social struggle. The optimism expressed in the article is not shallow only because *in the given social context* this struggle is bound to be victorious *within the limits of the arena*—that of political equality. Should American capitalism be seized by the retrogressive tendency in full flower before a general social overturn, the situation of the negro and of all other minorities would, needless to say, be

another story. But this is outside the context of the article; it is a possibility that is suggested by a phrase, which is more than sufficient. To sound dire warnings about what is bound to happen barring "the only real solution" is a "radical" fashion we have happily made outmoded.

A final word. Your criticism of the article is quite welcome; as I indicated, it pointed up an area of omission which perhaps should have been filled. But need you be carried away by polemical rhetoric in such a critique (recall Zander's remarks anent a criticism in the "Unfinished Letter" [to Sidney])? Let me cite a few examples from your letter followed by relevant quotations from the article against which their merit can be judged:

Dutscher: "Their [the sit-inners'] struggle is quite distinct from the half-arsed impotence of the courts—and they know it; but Ecker doesn't."

Ecker: "Legal channels offer the prospect of a slow chipping away at the massive barrier of segregation in a manner that can only be frustrating to the great mass of negroes who find themselves with no way of expressing their determination to win equal treatment. . . . They [the bus boycotts] showed that other channels of struggle against segregation were available—channels which not only offered more immediate prospects of success but a sense of conscious participation in a meaningful effort. For the first time, mass methods of combating segregation were employed on a wide scale. . . ."

Dutscher: "The strikes against Northern affiliates of Southern business concerns by Northern negroes and white students show that the people involved know (far better than Ecker) who is *not* their ally.(?)"

Ecker: "The movement, embracing negro students throughout the South, has evoked widespread sympathy in the North, where it has produced picket lines, demonstrations and other manifestations of support from both negroes and whites." (Your use of the word "ally", by the way, is quite . . . misleading; you will not find the word, its synonym or the thought anywhere in the article. But the ease with which the citadels of lunch-counter segregation fell offers food for pondering.)

Well, enough.

Paul Ecker



1st March, 1961

Dear Marian,

. . . Now for the comments on the correspondence on "Rubicon For The Negro South". There is some truth in Dutscher's contention that segregation will increase in the South because it patterns itself on the North. The notion is not entirely laughable. The present—passing—segregation of the South is based on that cruel semi-feudalism mentioned by Ecker, whereas the segregation of the North is on a *higher* and more subtle and concealed level as described by Dutscher, namely, on the basis of industrialism.

* *Contemporary Issues*, Vol. 10, No. 38, pp. 95-96.

As the South becomes more industrialised, the pattern of segregation will certainly change, because similar conditions will exist which maintain segregation in the North. Ecker, however, was quite right in calling Dutscher to task for saying that "fundamentally" nothing has changed. As Ecker says, the reason for change shouts for recognition: "The winds of economic change that *prepare the groundwork* for the end to a social anachronism". He says also: "The economic change does no more than prepare the ground, which must actually be won by social struggle".

The very fact that the negro can get a job in a factory in the South even at lousy wages indicates the break-up of the semi-feudal system and sets the stage for change—destruction of the system mentioned earlier in Ecker's letter. I lived for two years in the Deep South in a small rural town north of Baton Rouge, Louisiana. The weekly trips I made to Baton Rouge showed a sparkling (in the shopping districts) modern industrial city. There are the enormous enterprises of Esso Standard, Ethyl, United States Rubber, Kaiser Aluminium, Allied Chemicals, etc., which make Baton Rouge one of the chief petro-chemical centers of the country. In addition to these and other industries with the attendant dirt and smoke of industry, Baton Rouge is a deep-sea port, where ocean-going ships unload raw materials to be transported up the Mississippi by barge to the steel mills and manufacturing centers of the Midwest (as well as industries in Baton Rouge). According to my 1937 atlas, Baton Rouge had a population of something like 27,000. When I left it three years ago, it was well over 100,000, perhaps nearly 150,000.

An industrial city of this sort is simply incompatible with the semi-feudalism of the rural South. The patterns of segregation will change even as other patterns have changed. The North already shows us the patterns of segregation under industrialism. In other words, segregation can't be looked at as a whole which is unrelated to anything else. It is not a unit of something which is or is not being chipped away. This is a static viewpoint. Segregation is a part of capitalism and is going to change or develop with capitalism and industrialisation.

Previously (and even yet) the negro escaped the semi-feudalism of the rural South by going North, especially since the second World War, although it was also true after the first World War. Now the negro is beginning to escape the soil by getting a job in a factory. We were told how 30 years ago the negroes used to lie in the grass outside the houses of the whites to listen to the radio. Now they have their own radios. Even on the lousy wages in the South you can buy a 20-dollar radio. . . .

I would not say that Dutscher's contention that there is more "apartheid" in the North than in the South is exactly a "flagrant mis-statement of fact". His brief statement, "in the North the minorities occupy the cities and the 'Americans' move to the suburbs", covers something tremendous.

As a student of cities he is doubtless acquainted with the article in the October, 1957, *Scientific American* entitled "Metropolitan

Segregation", which covers the 14 largest metropolitan areas of the U.S.: Baltimore, Boston, Buffalo, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Los Angeles, Minneapolis-St. Paul (these are twin cities, across the river from each other), New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, San Francisco-Oakland, Washington, of which all but one (St. Louis), by an odd coincidence, are in the industrial North.

This article begins:

The white and non-white citizens of the U.S. are being sorted out in a new pattern of segregation. In each of the major urban centers the story is the same: the better-off white families are moving out of the central cities into the suburbs; the ranks of the poor who remain are being swelled by negroes from the South. This trend threatens to transform the cities into slums, largely inhabited by negroes, ringed about with predominantly white suburbs.

I might add that the study of this problem done by Morton Grodzins was carried out as part of a project of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, not any wild, radical outfit; nor are the consequences both present and probable described in any but the most unemotional, sedate and "objective" language.

The article contains information such as the following:

While the total white population within these 14 cities rose only 4 per cent, the negro population of the same cities leaped upward 68 per cent. . . . As late as 1950 non-whites constituted only a minor fraction of the total population in most of the central cities of the 14 largest metropolitan areas . . . New York City officials forecast that in 1970 negroes and Puerto Ricans will constitute 45 per cent of the population of Manhattan and nearly one-third of the entire city.

The process of "tipping" is described:

White residents who will tolerate a few negroes as neighbors either willingly or unwillingly, begin to move out when the proportion of negroes in the neighborhood or apartment building passes a certain critical point. This "tip point" varies from city to city and from neighborhood to neighborhood. But for the vast majority of white Americans a tip point exists. . . . Real estate operators, seeking the higher revenues that come with negro overcrowding, talk freely among themselves about "tipping a building" or "tipping a neighborhood".

Among the *social* consequences of this urban-suburban racial and class schism which are described, the article takes up the slums. After a discussion of how the negroes pay more rent for given accommodation, the family disorganization of the negro city-dwellers, the soaring rise of disease and crime-rates, the article points out:

With the exodus of the middle and upper classes to the suburbs, the white population of the city is made up in larger part of low-income groups, who generally exhibit more racial prejudice. In consequence, racial passions are on the rise and find less community restraint.

Furthermore:

Within the black belts hundreds of thousands of negroes live, eat, shop, work, play and die in a completely negro world with little or no contact with other people. For large numbers of them, segregation it more complete than it ever was for negro rural residents in the

South. If segregation is measured by the standard of the numbers of students who attend all-negro schools, then it is undoubtedly true that more negro students are segregated in the schools of New York City and Chicago than in some Southern states. . . .

The larger evidence is not that of integration nor intracommunity social gains. Rather it is in the direction of more uncompromising segregation and larger negro slums. [My emphasis.]

Speaking of the *economic* consequences, the article discusses the following:

Of first importance is a decline of parts of the central cities' business activity and associated property values. In almost every city the big downtown department stores are losing trade to the suburban shopping centers. . . . The decline of the central-city department store is accompanied by a general deterioration of the downtown area. . . . The slums, in other words, are spreading to the central business districts. . . . On the other hand, the cities have maintained their preponderance in manufacturing. The relative immobility of heavy industry has the result of fixing the laboring and semi-skilled groups, including large numbers of negroes, within the central cities. To rebuild the loss of tax revenues resulting from decline of their downtown and residential areas, some cities are engaged in campaigns to attract new manufacturing enterprises. The success of such efforts will, of course, accentuate the evolution of the central cities into lower class ethnic islands.

The article next takes up the question of voting, since the Northern negro differs in this respect from his Southern brother, and asks what will happen when the councils of some cities and their representatives in the State legislatures, become predominantly negro. They conclude that what the negroes seek "might not be any more selfishly conceived than what Irish-dominated councils in Boston and New York have sought in the past". At the very least there will be an exacerbation of the conflict already felt in a majority of states, a conflict between the great urban center and the rural "downstate" or "upstate" areas.

The conflict can only grow more acute as race and class become increasingly coterminous with local government boundaries.

The article concludes:

The political forecast is a new round of repression aimed at negroes. For this one, they will be better armed—in effective numbers, economic strength, political sophistication, and allies in the white population.

Since I have only hit the high spots of the article, I have necessarily left out the qualifying factors which were discussed with regard to various things. But these do not change the bold outline of this picture of "apartheid" in the North.

What will do the most for "desegregation" in the South, or, as I can hardly help stating the problem after the evidence just given, to change the pattern of segregation, is not any group—sit-inners, or otherwise—but industrialisation which lays that "groundwork" mentioned above. This is not to belittle the sit-inners, for the gains must be fought for. The social relations that are possible on a given economic foundation must be fought for. This is what Ecker means when he says: ". . . In the given *social context* this struggle is bound

to be victorious *within the limits of the arena*—that of political equality". It is no accident that the sit-inners and the bus boycotts come now—after a period of industrialisation in the South.

To consider the sit-inners a little further, they have been a segment of the educated black bourgeoisie who are, I think, correctly described by Dutscher and their aims are probably not much beyond the aims of the black bourgeoisie anywhere. Dutscher could have added to his comments on the educated (Northern) negro, that when he goes to Africa as a correspondent or other representative of the American Way of Life, the fact that he is a negro is ignored and he is condemned as an American. The Africans see through him perfectly, as a member of the American bourgeoisie.

If I might summarise: It is not segregation as a whole—in other words, unrelated to anything—that is being done away with, even partially; but the patterns of segregation are changing from segregation under a semi-feudal economy in the South to segregation under the invading industrialisation. The North already shows the pattern of segregation under industrialisation, which includes the right to vote. Racial discrimination blends into discrimination against the poor; it is part of a larger thing—capitalism.

A. Damson.

Peter Potter

A CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSAL ON SECURITY

This magazine has been reproached for purely negative criticism. Such (not, on the face of it, very constructive) criticism shall be refuted once and for all time by the following positive and highly constructive proposal concerning one of the most worrying problems of our time. This is the safeguarding of preparations for blowing up our planet, fittingly called "security".

The Blake Case

Our proposal is prompted by the case of George Blake, described as "a government official, of no fixed address" who was tried at the Old Bailey in London on May 3rd and found guilty, on the basis of his written confession, of working continually for some nine years as an agent for a foreign power. For this offence, English Law prescribes a prison sentence of no more than 14 years. Courts are there to establish respect for the law, and this the Lord Chief Justice did by giving 14 years for each of three charges, thus landing Blake in prison for 42 years; as there were five charges, he could have made it 70 years, but mercifully made the last two concurrent with the first three.

This shows how fortunate we are not to be subject to administrative tribunals, empowered to clap a citizen into jail for an arbitrary stretch of time without a public trial. Of course, it is entirely up to the

judge how he does his arithmetic of consecutive or concurrent sentences—that was proved by Blake's appeal in which the plea that, cunningly removed from the remission for life sentences, he would be in jail until he was 80, cut no ice whatever. Nor did the public get a great lot of details, because the case was heard *in camera*. For good measure, the usual letter was sent to newspaper editors, broadcasters etc. asking for their co-operation in the national interest in withholding certain facts; naturally, they complied. A second letter advised them against reproducing stories from foreign newspapers—but that, not a mere encroachment upon civil liberties, but interference with the newspaper business, our upright editors were not prepared that Blake had been connected with the Sixth Branch of Military to countenance, and thus we learned from the *New York Times* Intelligence (MI6) which carries out British espionage abroad.

A Disappointment

So there we are, having cheerfully paid our taxes all this time in the glow of satisfaction that we had a fine security service—what a disappointment! And quite unnecessary, too, for it might still work to everybody's satisfaction, had Blake not committed an unpardonable indiscretion. On an official trip to the Lebanon, he was seen together with a person "known to be a Russian agent". This obviously had never happened in London where Blake is said to have shown enemy agents all documents in his custody. He must have had strict orders from his Russian paymasters never to be seen with anybody known to have Russian connections, and it was his neglect of that order that got him into trouble with British officialdom. Nor is such coincidence unique; in the case of the "atom spy" Klaus Fuchs, rumour has it (and we law-abiding citizens have nothing else to go on) that, having given the Russians secret material during the war when they were officially called "our gallant allies", he later refused to give them more. Thus annoyed, the Russians made his previous services known and got him into jail, using, as convenient go-between, the American secret service, to the latter's lasting pride that it was they who laid Fuchs low.

These considerations, showing instructively that the interests of allegedly irreconcilable enemies can run parallel for surprisingly long stretches, were not strained in official publicity. The ever-obliging television news dragged on to our screens two experts—one of the policemen who deny all knowledge of security matters, if not to the "enemy", then at least to the taxpayers, and one of the taxpayers' representatives whom they have to inform all the same, though reluctantly and probably incompletely, to wit, the former Home Secretary (now Lord) Morrison. Both laid with unerring certainty the finger on the sore spot in the Blake case: Blake had a Dutch mother whereas a proper British spy, like all civil servants, must have both parents British by birth.

Servant of Two Masters

A bit disappointing, to be fobbed off with a bureaucratic engagement clause for the civil service when we had been looking forward

to much more exciting facts—for instance, that Blake, when a prisoner in Korea, had been “brain-washed”. Not that we are very clear what that means, for this is one of the graphically descriptive phrases to coin which is a gift a good fairy laid in the cradle of our American cousins. What a pity a bad fairy was so close at hand which saddled them with the curse of having to wear out these phrases until they have become meaningless clichés! Anyhow, the word leaves us in shuddering contemplation of the ruthless and single-minded devils who so implacably serve our adversaries, and makes us wonder where Blake’s terrible interrogator might be now. Well, by a lucky chance we learn that he is in America, having defected from the Russian side.

Even more of a let-down is that Blake’s fellow prisoner in Korea, the journalist Deane of the *Observer* came out with his opinion that Blake was not brain-washed, that he had not in Korea any secret information to give away and that he did not betray the other prisoners who would certainly have noticed it. Finally, the tactless Deane comes out with the suggestion that Blake might have been working for both sides.

The spy who works for both sides simultaneously is not particularly well-advertised. He does not fit in with the idea that people spying for our side are marvellous heroes while those doing it for the other side are unspeakable cads—it is a bit difficult to be both at once. In practice, however, this combination is obviously not only not uncommon but, as far as we are permitted to make out, even the rule rather than the exception. One has thus the possibility of feeding false information to the enemy (only one has to give some correct data first in order to be believed), and one does not lose one’s hard-won agents so frequently. There is only one thing in which the double agent cannot oblige both his masters, and that is just what they both demand from him in unison: namely, that he should work chiefly for them and only a little bit for the other side.

How Things Ought to be Organised

Outworn romantic ideas about the forces of light and darkness, and failure to realise the common interest of both sides, are thus responsible for all the disappointments with our various security services which might make us wish to do without them altogether. That, however, would surely mean to throw out the precious baby with its extremely dirty bath water—once we started to give way to selfish whims like these, we would soon find ourselves doing without H-bombs and blue-inking our resources on a spree of houses, schools and hospitals; what would then become of the progress of mankind?

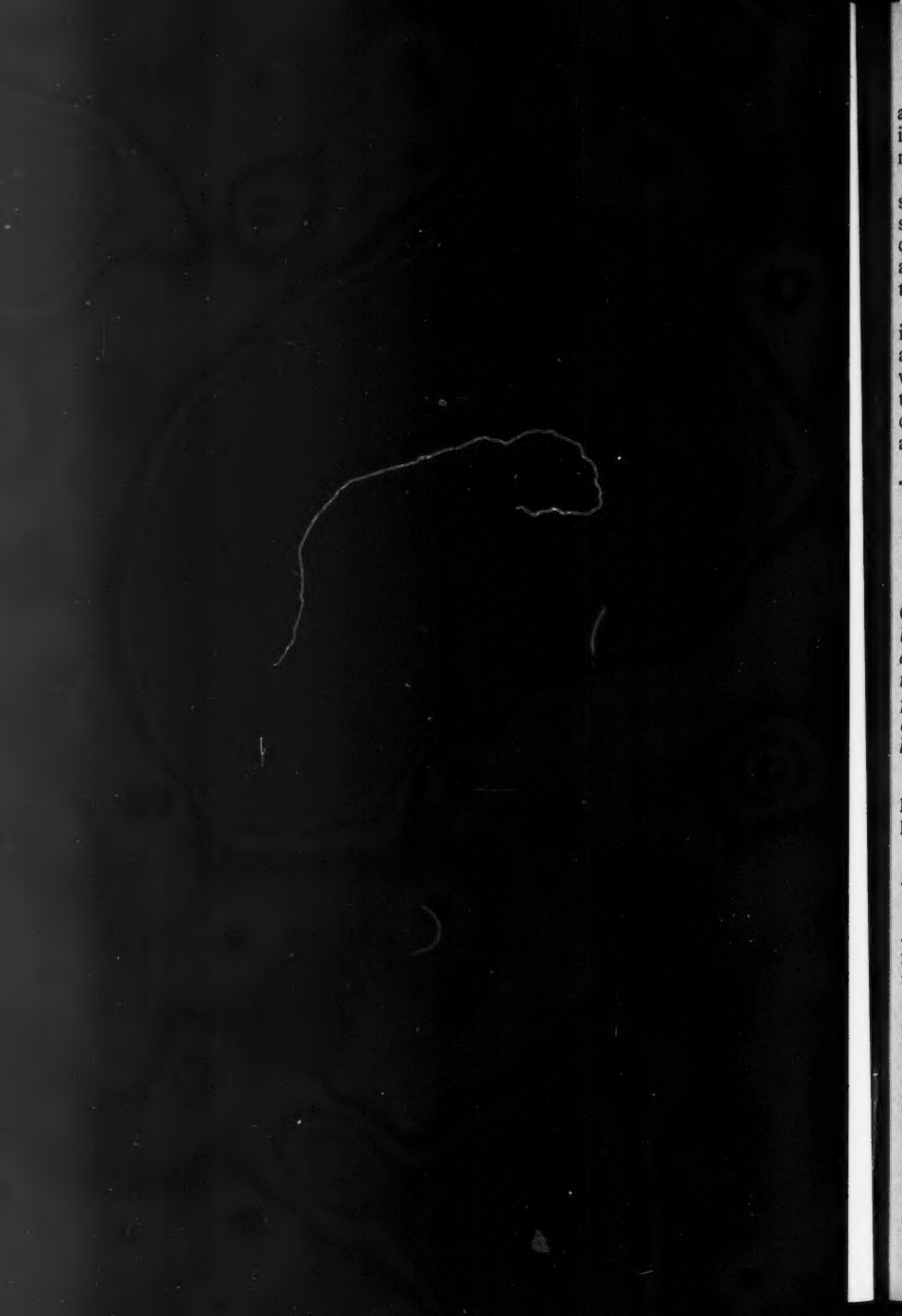
Obviously: security there must be, but it has to be properly organised. Spying is an international business and must be conducted as such. If most spies already are forced to put their talents at the disposal of more than one side, we must face realities and organise one world-wide international organisation in which all states pool their resources. This would be a full security service, comprising both espionage and counter-espionage. Care would of course have to be taken that employment is not unduly restricted—the figures at stake

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are important; the U.S. spy organisation alone employs 10,000 people in Washington and twice as many "elsewhere", as was proudly announced on the occasion of the C.I.A.'s flop with the invasion of Cuba.

But there are in the United Nations experienced international civil servants who could organise an expanding and flourishing international security service. This would be of invaluable benefit not least to the developing nations which, as soon as they have got themselves an atomic reactor, must necessarily have a security service to go with it; they would find here the technical know-how they need.

The greatest boon, however, would be that at long last the priorities in security would be put in their correct order. The over-rated attempt to keep things secret from the "enemy" could be dispensed with and the really crucial security attended to—namely to prevent the common taxpaying multitude from finding out the degree of incompetence and negligence in keeping secrets and—far worse—the absence of secrets to be kept.

The Hydrogen Bomb.

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES was one of the first publications to bring the dangers of nuclear testing to public attention. We have consistently demanded immediate, unilateral cessation of weapons testing by the governments involved. We were early in sponsoring public meetings and committees to halt tests. In addition to the articles and documents listed below, we published numerous free leaflets on nuclear weapons and the world-wide anti-bomb movement.

No. 20, Oct.-Nov., 1954

No. 22, March-April, 1955

Both numbers are entirely devoted to nuclear questions. They contain the pioneer studies:

Experiment in Annihilation
Ideologies and Annihilation

Jules Laurents
Jules Laurents

These articles deal with the deleterious effects of nuclear testing as well as the ideological rationalizations for the bomb, e.g., the "deterrence" ideology and the civil defence fraud.

No. 23, May-June, 1955

On the Cumulative Effects Produced by Thermonuclear
Explosions on the Surface of the Globe

Charles-Noel Martin

No. 24, Aug.-Sept., 1955

The Hydrogen Bomb and British Politics

Peter Hanwell